The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXIII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1921 No. 2937

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

THERE is a North Atlantic problem as well as a Pacific problem which threatens our peace. In a letter to President Harding the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic calls attention to the fact that the British demand for absolute control of Irish harbors, waters, and air routes is directed against the United States, its only possible enemy in that quarter of the globe. The signers quote Baron Fisher's axiom "The next battleground is the right practice ground," and continue "Today, the British Fleet has been transferred from the North Sea to the North Atlantic and all primary navy maneuvers are being conducted in that area." The British are pushing the building of four great battleships (for which they are paying with money they owe the United States) and George Bernard Shaw has declared "What is the next military enterprise to which Lloyd George has committed himself? Nothing less than a conflict with the United States for the command of the seas." It is impossible to refute these statements by sentimentalities about Anglo-American friendship. Nevertheless, the menace of new war could be averted by a comparatively simple arrangement. Let both Great Britain and the United States treat the North Atlantic as the United States and Canada treat the Great Lakes. Let England give up her desire to make Ireland a fortified outpost and unite with America in guaranteeing Irish neutrality. At bottom such a plan is no more Utopian than the thousands of miles of unfortified boundary which have kept the peace between the United States and Canada for more than a century. It is a conservative alternative to the menace of war between the English speaking peoples within the next generation.

THE second Assembly of the League of Nations has adjourned and left the world very nearly as it found it. It has some things to its credit: A world court has been set up composed of a group of able jurists, and certain technical bodies have been organized. The old unanimity rule regarding amendments to the Covenant has itself been amended to allow changes by a three-fourths majority, and certain other liberalizing pieces of legislation were adopted. But most of the important issues were dodged. Bolivia voluntarily withdrew her demand for a consideration of the Tacna-Arica dispute, thus saving the League from an embarrassing problem; nothing at all was done about disarmament, even though many members dreaded the results of handing that entire matter over to the Washington Conference; the question of the registration of treaties, a matter of real moment, was put off to the next meeting, but meanwhile member nations have been given to understand that they will not be expected to live up to the present stringent requirements of the Covenant; the knotty problem of Albania was submitted for final decision to the Council of Ambassadors, that strange and anomalous body of diplomats. And so, while some things were done, much was left undone, and the world will have to contrive to jog along until the next meeting of the Assembly.

ALBANIA, in all the talk and fuss of a new war which has so disturbed the Assembly of the League of Nations, is but a mask. Behind are the conflicting intrigues of the big and little Powers. Albania is a hill country peopled by strongly individualistic tribes. After the first Balkan War it would have been divided among Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro but for the jealousy of Austria. The independent state of Albania was established by the Great Powers, and a German prince set on the throne. War came; the Prince fled. Austria invaded the north of the country; Greece the south; and Italy occupied some of the coastland. The friendly Allies by a secret treaty of London divided up the ex-principality: Serbia was to take the northern and eastern parts; Greece to keep the southern, and the rest was to be a Moslem state, "autonomous" but under Italian influence. When the tide of war turned Serbia occupied as much as it conveniently could, and Italy and Greece held on to what they could. So long as Venizelos ruled Greece, the Allies supported its claims in Albania; when Constantine superseded him, the Allies became interested in Albania's rights. Meanwhile the unruly Albanians rose and virtually drove the Italians into the sea, forcing the evacuation of Valona. The Italians thereupon changed their tactics and began to support the Tirana Government which ruled most of Albania, and to use it as a pawn against their opponents the Jugoslavs. Sporadic fighting between Serbs and Albanians has never ceased. "Discovery" of a new war is merely part of a game

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in which the Italians, the Albanians of Tirana, and the British play against the Jugoslavs, who appear to be supported by the French.

ONE bit of testimony which escaped the reporters at the reopening of the Senatorial inquiry last week on the American Occupation in Haiti and Santo Domingo was that of Mr. Roger Farnham, vice-president of the National City Bank. He confirmed the almost incredible charge made in the *Memoir* of the Haitian Delegates to the United States, that in 1914, six months prior to the Occupation, sailors from the gunboat Machias had landed in Haiti, removed $500,000 in gold from the vaults of the Banque Nationale, and carried it off to New York. This money was part of the gold reserve of the bank pledged to the Haitian Government against the withdrawal of paper currency. The officials of the National City Bank in the United States—those in Haiti knew nothing about it—had managed to persuade Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State, that the money was not safe there, and so at his instance the United States acted as freight carrier for this private banking concern. Mr. Farnham explained that the United States warship was called upon because it was not possible to get adequate insurance on mercantile liners. As an example of close cooperation between government and business this incident is perhaps unique. We say "perhaps," for not a word of it was ever allowed to leak out to the public. It remained a state—and bank—secret till 1921. It would be interesting to know how often the Navy has acted in such capacity. But more that has hitherto been concealed will now come to light and the inquiry should command general attention at this time when questions of overseas trade, spheres of influence, rights of small nations, and self-determination bear so largely on future national policy and the peace of the world. It will be unfortunate if the press continues to slight the hearings. They are of transcendent importance, and the work of the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society which is cooperating with the Senatorial Commission deserves the support of all Americans who value our most precious traditions and believe in fair play, justice and common decency to weaker nations.

COINCIDENT with the announcement that 956 of the 1,464 steel ships of our merchant fleet are now tied up with their crews out of work, Mr. Lasker, chairman of the Shipping Board, has announced that the Board will spend the next sixteen weeks in studying the Jones Merchant Marine Act before deciding whether to institute the preferential railway rates in this country made possible under Section 28 or to impose the discriminatory duties or imposts on water-borne commerce authorized by Section 34. In either event a more suicidal policy, especially when when we are trying to build up a merchant marine and revive our export trade in a chaotic world, it would be hard to imagine. The adoption of such a program would result in rate and tariff wars with all the large countries and especially with our Allies. Fortunately, there are encouraging signs that some people are beginning to see the light on this question. The New York *Tribune*, for instance, after having denounced the *Nautical Gazette* for opposing these provisions of the law, has turned a somersault and declares that it would be madness to enforce them. From the Pacific Coast also comes an excellent note in an address by Mr. Henry M. Robinson, president of the First National Bank of Los Angeles and formerly commissioner of the Shipping Board, who points out that if we are to maintain a merchant fleet our high protective tariffs must be greatly modified or some method be devised, such as a foreign trade zone, which would permit the unloading of a ship without the delays and expense attendant upon our present methods of transshipment.

MR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER'S recent condemnation of the tyranny of minorities is both illustrated and justified by the supplemental reports prepared by the Interchurch World Movement's Commission of Inquiry and issued under the title "Public Opinion and the Steel Strike." Here is a minority—the directors of the steel trust—who are shown by incontestable evidence to have terrorized the organized workers and corrupted some of their officers by the use of spies, denied them civil liberty by their control of the machinery of justice, and misled public opinion by their power, direct and indirect, over the press and to a less extent over the pulpit. It is heartening to observe the publicity given to summaries of these supplemental reports. It is not heartening to remember that Judge Gary and his associates who used such means to defeat labor won so complete a victory. They have cut wages, maintained with few exceptions the twelve-hour day, and made industrial espionage a science; yet today they rather than more enlightened employers are the heroes and leaders of the business world. In contrast to this attitude of the employing classes, the courage of the leaders in the Protestant churches who compose the Interchurch Commission gives one new confidence that some of the energies of organized religion may be effectively used in the quest of social justice.

AMERICA has her own Ku Klux, now it appears that she is to have the Italian Fascisti. For this information we are indebted to none other than Mr. Ivy Lee, who writes in his *Public Relations:*

> A Fascisti movement that will seek to promote Italo-American relations and to eliminate bolshevism among Italian people in America has been in the process of organization in New York City during the last two months, according to *Bloomfield's Labor Digest.* The movement, which is connected with the original body in Italy, is spreading to other cities, and branches are now in formation in Cleveland and Canton, Ohio, in San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia. . . . While the organization is avowedly protective toward the Italian immigrant, it is opposed to the strike as a weapon and will seek to discourage its use. The services of the body in industrial disputes involving Italian workmen will be available when its program is fully developed.

An organization with such aims, even though it is Italian, will arouse no wrath in the bosoms of the 100 percenters whose publicity expert Mr. Lee is. To break strikes is to them sufficient guaranty of Americanism. Poor America!

IT is to be hoped that Secretary Weeks will not approve the report of the commission sent to the Canal Zone to investigate labor conditions, in so far at least as concerns the recommendation for an "open shop." The "open shop" proposed is one in which the Government would not negotiate with union labor through the latter's representatives but would deal only with committees of employees. This kind of an "open shop" totally nullifies unionism and plays directly into the hands of those interests that are now trying to destroy labor organization. The only true open shop is one where unionists and non-unionists work side by side, with the unionists able to speak through their own representatives.

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A LAW which cannot wisely be enacted before the Armament Conference has to show overwhelming cause if it is to be enacted at any time. Current predictions are that the Senate will pass the law repealing tolls on American shipping through the Panama Canal, but that the House, obedient to the President's wish, will hold it up until after the conference! Which is a naive way to deal with a problem involving questions of economic wisdom, international friendship, and national good faith. There are competent and honest Senators who insist that good faith is not involved, that the United States is not inhibited from freeing its own shipping by any treaty. But surely these are times for generous, not legalistic, interpretations and in any event the repeal of tolls only aids certain shippers, not the people.

MISS M. CAREY THOMAS, president of Bryn Mawr College, in speaking at the Founder's Day exercises of Mount Holyoke College, said what all our educators ought to be saying and thinking in regard to Americanism. She rightly characterized the prevailing effort to teach patriotism as sure to result in teaching only the opinion of those in immediate political control.

> This means that school teachers and college professors, as yet only in public schools and State universities, but unless the movement is determinedly opposed sooner or later everywhere, are being required to teach not how to make things as they should be, but that things as they are are right; that the United States Constitution, as written 134 years ago, is perfect; that our highly unsatisfactory Government must not be criticised; that the United States flag, which, as we all know, flies over many cruel injustices which we hope to set right, must be reverenced as a sacred symbol of unchanging social order, of political death in life.

A few persons are trying to set up a political religion in America to safeguard their selfish interests. A great many more are unselfishly supporting them from an honest but uninformed wish to serve their country and their fellows. To the latter we commend a study of Miss Thomas's words.

ALTHOUGH the prosecutions of radicals have all but stopped, the burdens of the defense work continue. The Federal war cases and the anti-red campaign following the war still hold in prison several hundred men and one woman. The offense of these prisoners is that they put their social faith in vigorous words. Relief for families and for prisoners' comfort entails heavy obligations which the I. W. W. General Defense Committee and the National Defense Committee handling communist cases find it increasingly difficult to meet in the face of unemployment. Many of the State cases are still in the courts with the usual heavy costs for records and lawyers. Efforts for amnesty and pardon are unceasing and expensive. Through the past four years of ceaseless defense work the I. W. W. alone has raised $400,000, 90 per cent of which came from its own membership. The half million dollars put up in bail came from friends of free speech. Five thousand dollars is earnestly needed for immediate obligations in relief, court costs, and amnesty work. It is time for Americans, irrespective of their economic creed, to come to the relief of the suffering and to the defense of free speech. Therefore the American Civil Liberties Union has organized an emergency committee of well-known Americans to act as custodians and distributors of funds. Professor Robert Morss Lovett is chairman and Albert De Silver, 138 West 13th Street, is treasurer.

WE had thought that the deportation craze was over. But not so. We learn that steps are under way to deport Adolph Gross, forty years a resident in the United States and the father of seven American citizens. His story is an interesting illustration of the follies of jingoism. He was a staunch but inoffensive radical who kept a bookstore in Tacoma, Washington. Naturally he sold radical magazines. Some one called attention to that fact in a local newspaper in the fall of 1919, one year after the Armistice! Thereupon, according to our informant, the usual 100-per-cent mob raided his place; then he was arrested and convicted on the basis of seditious opinions in the papers he sold. He was sentenced to twenty-eight months in the Federal prison on McNeill's Island, and now that his term is expiring he is confronted with deportation on the ground that he is an anarchist within the meaning of the immigration law. Just to pass on this story ought to be enough to prevent so cruel an act as the deportation of a grandfather to a country in which he would be a stranger.

WITH David Bispham there passed a singer of great merit, whose robust and manly art made an especial appeal to the less musical portion of our populace—the men. As an intelligent and colorful interpreter of Wagnerian roles he stood high, but he shone most in the concert hall. He did noteworthy pioneer work in dispelling by the beauty and perfection of his own diction the myth that English was not a singable language. No one who heard his rendering of certain of the old English and German ballads could readily forget them, or for that matter his singing of the modern, and musically less worthy, "Danny Deever." From the field of long-forgotten ballads he culled numerous songs which ought to be in many repertoires, and his rare dramatic ability, coupled with the rich quality of his voice, easily gave him preeminence. Remarkable, too, was the way in which he recognized the limitations of age as they came upon him. He knew just when to give up opera and how to alter his programs to make the most of what voice he had. Sometimes, toward the last, his songs were almost recitations. But his art prevailed always, and in informal recitals his descriptions and criticisms of the songs he sang added much to the entertainment and strengthened the evidence that his was an unusual intellect as well as a most attractive personality.

WHEN the frost is on the punkin and the fodder in the shock, then the fall comes jealously and puts our summer sports in hock. Banished now are jolly marbles, lonely are the swimming-holes; Coney Island and its cousins now invite no simple souls. Baseball, winding up in glory, burrows in its winter lair; and the hardy husky football spirals up and takes the air. Fashion chucks its camps and beaches, meadows, brooks, and country dress, for interminable soirees and appropriate nakedness. Congress, from a season's pastime mending useful party fences, turns to Washington and settles down to raising our expenses. Business men who howled all summer till the public welkin shook now contract their rage and whisper in the lobby's inglenook. And the Ku Klux Klan, made kinder by the calmer cooler weathers, moderates its modes and uses warmer tar and thicker feathers.

SOME of the delegates to the forthcoming conference in Washington seem to have chosen as their slogan: "To arm, or not to disarm—that is the question."

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North Dakota Wins Her Fight

INTO North Dakota's recall election on October 28, toward which friends of the farmers' administration have been looking with some discouragement if not with actual fear, has come a dramatic turn that transforms the entire situation. What was intended to humiliate Governor Frazier and wreck the Nonpartisan League may not improbably prove a vindication of both and the fulcrum of an effective development of the farmers' program. The announcement that a firm of brokers in Toledo has taken in one block the entire outstanding issue of the State's real estate bonds means that what had every appearance of an attempt on the part of the country's financiers to hold up an experiment in industrial democracy has failed. It means that Governor Frazier and the two other officials against whom the recall is directed will be able to face the election with definite prospects for the future, instead of vague hopes discounted by the record of an administration rendered almost futile by sabotage within and attack without.

For the pith of the whole contest in North Dakota is financial. The carrying out of the Nonpartisan League's industrial program has depended upon money which for the last two years it has been impossible to obtain. When last spring it was apparent that no assistance could be obtained from the usual financial sources, the North Dakota administration had the courage and originality to go directly to the people. The State bonds were advertised and sales offices were opened in Chicago and New York. In spite of bad financial conditions the response was remarkable. Bonds began to sell and the public began to be educated to their undoubted excellence, in the attainment of which result *The Nation* is glad to have had a leading part. Finally, the natural consequence came to pass: financiers who had hitherto ignored the bonds saw that they were missing an opportunity in so doing, and the sale that has just been negotiated was the result. This sale, together with the bonds already disposed of, not only assures the State sufficient funds with which to resume the long-delayed farmers' program but it should be proof to democratic movements everywhere that they can control their finances if they will. Whatever the result of the recall election, this one financial victory will stand to the lasting encouragement of every movement which seeks to break down the arbitrary power of those who rule men by withholding credit.

The recall election itself is a matter of national rather than State-wide importance. It is the culmination of an almost continuous series of battles, both political and legal, which the Nonpartisan League has had to fight since it came into partial control of the administration of the State in 1916. At that time it elected Lynn J. Frazier to the governorship and two years later, when it gained control of the legislature, it proceeded to enact the laws necessary to put into effect its industrial program for the betterment of the farmers. The indorsement of these laws by popular referendum proved easy, but that was the League's last easy step. Certain groups within the organization turned against it and, uniting with the old-line Republicans, made a hard fight to obtain the control of the primaries in June of last year. The attempt was partially successful and compelled the Nonpartisan League to put forth all its efforts at the election last autumn. It managed to hold the necessary offices, but the opposition put through an initiative measure which struck hard at the Bank of North Dakota by making it no longer necessary for local governmental bodies to deposit their funds there. This measure was sponsored by the bankers, but it reacted against them. As soon as local governments began to withdraw their deposits from the Bank of North Dakota, that institution was obliged to call in its deposits from the country banks. The latter in turn began to call the farmers' notes. But the farmers could not pay, and bank after bank went under.

In the meanwhile an equally bitter and important fight was going on in the courts. The first essential to carrying out the farmers' program was the bond issue. This was at once attacked in the courts and, although it was finally upheld, a year was lost in the contest and the opportunity to sell the bonds in a favorable market was gone. Next, the grain-grading law was declared unconstitutional in the Federal courts. The success of the grain-grading law from the standpoint of fair treatment to the farmer is admitted by all parties and its judicial overthrow destroys the most important constructive work that the Nonpartisan League administration, in its hampered financial situation, has been able to compass. State hail insurance remains as the only one of the chief items in the farmers' program which the League administration has been able fully to carry out. Thus the State administration of North Dakota, harassed and harried at the polls, in the courts, and in the press, finds itself with most of its program unfulfilled or judicially destroyed. Worst of all, perhaps, the farmers upon whom it depends are not only the victims of the general acute agricultural depression but of a series of poor crops in their own section.

This moment of discouragement and depression was judged by the enemies of the farmers' movement to be a good one to make a frontal attack upon it when, a few weeks since, they circulated their petitions for a recall election. At first glance they seemed to have chosen their time well, but even before the bond sale was made, certain developments appeared that have been working against the success of the recall. Governor Frazier is still personally popular and there are business interests which deplore the injection of a special election into the industrial situation in the State at this time. Moreover, a split has occurred among the opponents of the Nonpartisan League. The Bismarck group, headed by Senator McCumber and the old Republican war-horse Alexander McKenzie, has turned against the Fargo group. It is apparently the hope of the McKenzie forces to kill the Independent Voters' Association this year by making a failure of the recall and then to oust the Nonpartisan League in the primaries next June, thus regaining control of the Republican Party in the State.

Finally, all plans and prospects have been upset by new developments in connection with the sale of the State's bonds. It is doubtful now if the opponents of the Nonpartisan League will succeed in recalling any of the State officials, although they may succeed in passing some of their initiated measures. It is to be hoped that at last the most interesting experiment in democracy in any of our States may be in a position to go forward with confidence and courage.

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War and Human Nature

THERE is a method of deducing the inevitability of war which makes superfluous any examination of the actual relations between men and hopeless any consideration of concrete proposals for preserving peace. The argument runs: You cannot change human nature; human nature is selfish. Therefore you cannot abolish war, poverty, or any of the fundamental social ills from which men suffer. "You cannot change human nature." How large is the orchestra which plays its variations upon that one theme! Great newspapers, army officers, captains of industry, gentlewomen in protected homes, clergymen of a church which professes to minister redeeming grace—all avow the same creed in justification of their skepticism as to any thoroughgoing plan for social amelioration. Now it is quite clear that this creed may be challenged along either or both of two lines: one may deny that human nature is so rigidly fixed as these pessimists allege, or one may affirm that even if human nature is in a large sense unchangeable, war and other social evils which had a definite beginning in human history may have a definite end. In other words there is no obvious axiomatic and inevitable connection between human nature or human selfishness and the long agony of the Great War. The connection may exist but it requires explanation; and it is precisely this explanation which is not supplied. Here, for instance, is our contemporary the *Christian Register* which having quoted from our editorial on the Price of Peace proceeds: "We think the tap-root of war is not chiefly economic, as that journal [*The Nation*] does, but a more human thing which includes economic advantage, namely, simple blind selfishness."

Such a generalization is anything but closely reasoned. Who by their "simple blind selfishness" caused the war? The men who fought, who endured every conceivable and inconceivable horror in the trenches and on the battlefields, the men whom the *Christian Register* was glorifying a little while ago as exemplars of the love which led a man to lay down his life for his friends? If indeed it was selfishness which led men to endure such agonies it was surely blind, but it was anything but simple. It requires explanation in terms of the psychological complexes and economic and political forms of organization which govern social relations. We have a right to demand of our pessimistic friends less slovenly thinking if they are to be our guides. And from some of them we have a right to demand proof of disinterestedness. Those who are most glib in asserting that the disproportionate division of the good things of life is due to human nature usually have the most good things to protect. The assumed universality of selfishness is too often, one fears, the defense against an uneasy conscience which demands by what right we are the complacent supporters or beneficiaries of a system whose fruit is war.

In raising these doubts as to the validity of the logical deduction of war from an immutable human nature we are not to be understood as denying that certain general characteristics of men have persisted since paleolithic times. Men nowadays are less hopeful of the easy perfectibility of mankind in the mass than were the romantic radicals of earlier days. The psychology of the individual and of the crowd has united with history in bringing back a sobering sense of our limitations. We are ready to deplore with the worthy bishop not so much our kinship with the tiger as with the ass. If reason be king at all in the affairs of men, his is no absolute monarchy. He sits on an uneasy throne which he must dispute with strange stupidities, mighty passions, devastating fears and hates. And yet here are men, lords over nature as are no others of the animal creation. Other living species have perished because they could not adapt themselves to their outward environment; no species has perished by its own internecine strife. Is it conceivable that such a fate is reserved for man? Is it thus that nature is to revenge herself on her conqueror?

No such melancholy conclusion is demanded by the facts. If in the course of history man has shown blind selfishness and strange stupidity he has also shown great powers of mutual aid and adaptability. Human nature has permitted enormous variations in men's way of living, in their moral standards, and in their degree of interdependence. Professor Sumner argued that every new invention created its appropriate *mores*. Ancient customs have yielded to the power of new ideas. In the long history of the race men have offered human sacrifices to their gods, degraded women to an inferior order of being, held human slaves, burned heretics, murdered each other in private quarrels to vindicate a thing they called honor. In dark forests, in gloomy temples, in the market-place and the forum brave men have cried out against all these things. And always they were told that to abolish human sacrifice, to treat woman as the equal of man, to free the slaves, to tolerate the heretic was against human nature. Nay, rather, it was against the unchangeable will of the high gods at whose behest these heroes suffered trials of mockings and scourgings and imprisonment, were stoned, torn asunder, tempted, slain with the sword. But they awakened a response in human nature mighty enough to overthrow the intrenched evil against which they launched their puny strength. Why should it seem incredible that men should refuse to that tawdry god, the political state, the human sacrifices they long ago denied to the lords of earth and sea and air? Why should chattel slavery have perished but the exploitation of the toiler and the landless men be immortal? It is all very well to remind us that human nature sets limits which the prophet and statesman cannot ignore. But what those limits are no man dares confidently assert. This we know. There are in human nature capacities for mutual aid on which we have scarcely begun to build and there is in the will of man a creative energy abundantly able to organize his social life so as to make war as absurdly unnecessary as it already is abhorrent to the human mind.

Town or Country

WHETHER the artist or the man of letters should live in town or in the country is a question that has been mildly debated throughout the centuries. The weight of venerable opinion leans toward the eternal Sabine farm, and Juvenal and Johnson's denunciation of the great city is as pertinent and true as ever. Indeed, the modern life of art and letters has added new and subtler terrors to the old.

Art has become an industry of respectable proportions. There is a demand for stories and novels and articles that must be supplied. But memories of an old dignity and grace haunt the sorriest scribbler and he seeks to hide his trade behind gestures at once careless and magnificent. These gestures the innocent child of the spirit takes to be

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the expression of an inner reality and forgoes the advantages which his friends affect to disdain. He dedicates himself to reflection while others are cultivating the friendship of editors and wonders at the next reception given by a publisher's wife why he is a stranger where all are "pals."

Thus his position is an odd and not wholly comfortable one. For even when he recognizes the situation in its true colors, he cannot practice the arts by which others win their fleeting but profitable successes. Though the most "clubable" of men he instinctively withdraws where a too easy friendliness would lead to a material advantage and blurts out the imprudent truth at exactly the moment when to lie would mean money in his pocket. His courtesy breaks down whenever it is in danger of becoming a coin; he soon gains a reputation for arrogance and is disliked most heartily by those who think it in their interest to flatter him.

He is naturally tempted to retire from these busy scenes and these marts in which he is so unskilful a trader. Hills and rivers are steadier and less confusing friends. Among them he can be himself without giving offense and sustain his material losses with an easier mind. But a day comes on which the city draws him irresistibly back. He obeys the call and finds the air of Broadway vivid and exhilarating. And he discovers, as in a flash, that cliques and coteries have temporarily hidden the city from his eyes. What feeds him is the vision of life. These people in streets and cars and flats from Greenwich Avenue to Kingsbridge live, with a thousand kinds of typicalness, in a thousand different degrees of awareness, that modern life, the innermost secret of which he must master both as the sustenance of his art and the material of his philosophy. Nature is rest and refuge and refreshment. But the impulse from a vernal wood does not, despite the poet's words, teach him as much concerning man or concerning moral good and evil as a couple quarreling a little at the next table in an eating-house or a pain-touched face in a subway car or the gestures of workers coming from a factory when the five o'clock whistle blows. To observe what he can and imaginatively to reconstruct from the observed that which lies beyond observation—such is the modern artist's business both as a creator of significant beauty and as a friend of mankind. Here or nowhere are his eternal fresh fields and pastures new.

Here, too, he discovers at length, his friends are gathered. Only he comes to see in time that the creative and productive mind is not necessarily the same. He drops his naive old tests to which his occupation has naturally led him and asks of men and women not how much copy they have produced or how often their names appear in the magazines, but how profoundly and significantly they have re-shaped the world in their minds and have loved beauty and followed freedom. It saddens him that those whom he chooses by this new and better test are rarely active writers; it saddens him both for them who feel so often the irk of inexpressiveness and for a literature so largely written by the merely ready and plausible and glib. But to this fact he must in the end resign himself. Into the distance fade the years in which he thought that playwrights must bear the marks of their wrestling with the most difficult and philosophical of all the arts; that critics must be learned in both books and life and hence ripe and serene and above the battle, and poets wise and impassioned and touched with flame. He finds exceptions. These he honors and seeks out. But he makes his home in the city not because it is the dwelling-place of writers but because it is the hearth of life.

Feminism on the Farm

FEMINISM in New York City or Chicago or San Francisco may mean many things. It may mean a combination of short hair and knickerbockers or of babies and jobs. It may mean equal pay for equal work and equal pay for equal misbehavior. But in Nebraska and North Dakota and Wyoming and points North and South and West, on every farm and in every homestead, feminism means something else. It means, to quote in full the Declaration of Independence recently drawn up and published by the farm women of Nebraska:

> A power washing-machine for the house for every tractor bought for the farm.
>
> A bath-tub in the house for every binder on the farm.
>
> Running water in the kitchen for every riding-plow for the fields.
>
> A kerosene cook-stove for every automobile truck.
>
> A fireless cooker for every new mowing-machine.
>
> Our share of the farm income.

And this declaration is neither a petulant outburst nor an amiable jest. Backed up by the home demonstration service of the Department of Agriculture the farm women of Nebraska are going to see to it that 100 per cent of their number are supplied with water in the kitchen, kerosene stoves, fireless cookers, linoleum kitchen floors, bread mixers, screened porches—at least that minimum of conveniences can be achieved even before the whole country is electrified and housework no less than factory work is done by power.

The case was recently put by a Wyoming housewife who knew whereof she spoke. She stood outside the door of the low two-room ranchhouse. Waves of heat from the kitchen behind her met waves of heat rising from the baked ground. She leaned against the rough log wall chinked with mud; close above her head was the roof, mud-plastered and yielding a scanty crop of dry prairie grass. "Women don't have much of a life out here," she said. "They've got no choice what they'll do. They can't wrangle horses or get a job up to the tie-camp, and the only town inside a hundred miles has under 200 people, babies included. A woman's got to do housework and she's got to do the heaviest kind of housework there is. Here I've had thirteen to feed for the last month counting hay hands, and no help only what I could get out of the men—carrying water and such. The heaviest kind of work and the worst tools to do it with—no running water short of the creek, a coal stove, everything unhandy and poor and scarce. Not everybody likes housework anyhow, but nobody likes it with things fixed up this way." She looked about her with complete dissatisfaction, but she was a strong capable person and her expression was indignant rather than plaintive. She was not downcast. With the slightest encouragement she would demand her rights even as the women of Nebraska are demanding theirs; but when you're alone, and busy, and no representative of the home demonstration service of the Department of Agriculture comes loping up to your door, and the nearest ranch is ten miles down the valley, and you have no way of getting together with other women in a like state of discomfort and rebellion—things are apt to slide. It is hard to conduct a revolution entirely by yourself.

"There's a saying round here," she remarked, "that Wyoming is heaven for men and dogs and hell for women and horses. And it's true, too."

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A Study in Justice—The Rosenbluth Case

ON October 25, 1918, Major Alexander D. Cronkhite, of the 213th Engineers, son of General Adelbert Cronkhite, died of a revolver wound at Camp Lewis, Washington. On March 22, 1921, Captain Robert Rosenbluth was arrested in New York City by agents of the Department of Justice charged with the murder of Major Cronkhite. He was released from arrest on July 22, 1921, the Department of Justice informing him that all papers in the case had been or would be turned over to County Prosecutor Selden of Pierce County, Washington. Mr. Selden has taken no action. For a time the Rosenbluth case was a front-page sensation, but those of our readers who recall it at all will remember it as a highly dramatic case in which at the end nothing was proved. *The Nation,* however, has received from Captain Rosenbluth a mass of evidence which seems to convict the Department of Justice of using the most unscrupulous means to secure the conviction of an innocent man.

The circumstances of Major Cronkhite's death do not seem to have impressed any of his regimental comrades as mysterious or sinister. The major, who was just recovering from illness, did not accompany his regiment on a practice hike. Later, according to the testimony of the chaplain, Father Thomas J. Harron, he decided "to stretch his legs," and taking with him Bugler Roland Pothier he went out for a walk and presently engaged in target practice of his own. Putting a tobacco can on a post he shot at it (this in itself was contrary to army regulations). Just then the regiment on hike drew near.

Hearing shooting, Captain Rosenbluth, then in command of the regiment by a series of unexpected coincidences, very properly went forward to investigate what was the matter. He feared that he might be leading his men into an area used for machine-gun practice. Just then a shot rang out and Major Cronkhite fell back mortally wounded. The usual autopsy board composed of physicians and the Army Investigating Board both concurred in reporting that the death was due to "an accidental self-inflicted wound." Numerous affidavits and letters which we have seen testify that no one in the regiment suspected foul play or connected Captain Rosenbluth with the tragedy. The chain of circumstances which led to his presence on the spot when Major Cronkhite died excludes the possibility of a premeditated plot, such as was suggested by the Department of Justice.

At the conclusion of the war General Cronkhite returned from France. Apparently he persuaded himself that his son, a West Point graduate, could never have died by his own hand, either purposely or as a result of carelessness in handling firearms. With this fixed idea he started an investigation of his own. An ex-police captain, W. A. Jones, whom he employed as an expert, examined Major Cronkhite's body after it was exhumed and testified that he did not believe that the wound could have been self-inflicted. This is contrary to the opinion of all the doctors on the autopsy board. General Cronkhite took the case to the War Department but that Department evidently felt unable to act. It did, however, give the general photostatic copies of the record which were later denied to Captain Rosenbluth on the ground that he was not an interested party! General Cronkhite then went to the Department of Justice with the evidence which in his opinion indicated foul play.

So far it is easy to understand all that happened, and even to sympathize with General Cronkhite in his grief. It is more difficult to understand the conduct of the Department of Justice. It proceeded at once on the theory that it must find a criminal and resorted to thoroughly unscrupulous methods in its search. First Sergeant Bradshaw of Captain Rosenbluth's company, after demobilization, went back to his trade as a structural ironworker. His work took him to various cities. He later informed Captain Rosenbluth that in all these cities he was shadowed.

Finally, according to his story, he was conducted to a hotel in Washington, D. C., where private detective Jones (General Cronkhite's agent) and a government officer tried to persuade him to implicate Captain Rosenbluth. On his refusal he was told that he had previously informed General Cronkhite of certain alleged facts, which Bradshaw emphatically denied, adding that the general had been drinking at the time. Thereupon, Bradshaw says, the general himself burst into the room and Bradshaw repeated the accusation. He was then threatened with arrest and let alone only when he remarked that the records would show that he was in the hospital on the fatal day. But not all the men of the regiment were equally firm. Bugler Pothier, whose record, first in the navy and afterwards in the army, appears to have been bad, made a confession implicating Captain Rosenbluth. This he later repudiated, alleging that it was extorted from him by the third degree. Certainly it was made after he had been held under arrest several days without counsel. Meanwhile Captain Rosenbluth had been arrested and the sensational story concerning him given to the press. To bolster its action the Department resorted to astonishing measures. It brought pressure on non-commissioned officers and men to get adverse testimony; it failed to examine commissioned officers of the regiment though Captain Rosenbluth earnestly requested such examination. And this was not the end of the Department's offending. Its agents sought to blacken Captain Rosenbluth's record. In spite of the fact that he rendered excellent service to the country both in war and peace, agents of the Department insinuated in publicity given to the press that he was "pro-German," a "man without friends," and what not. The Department omitted from the transcript of evidence presented at a hearing in Washington important matter favorable to the captain. Finally, it handed over to Prosecutor Selden of Pierce County the papers in the case, omitting, however, Pothier's retraction, which was vital to Captain Rosenbluth's defense. Such was its conduct in bare outline. Perhaps the spirit of the Department in the whole matter is best shown by a letter, signed by W. C. Herron, "for the Attorney General," to Mr. William H. Allen, director of the Institute of Public Service, who had written a letter of protest as to the Department's conduct of the case. We quote three specific statements from Mr. Herron's letter:

1. This Department has not failed to examine any essential witnesses referred to by Captain Rosenbluth. As you yourself state, Dr. Tucker's testimony was given before the Board of Inquiry, and this Department had a copy of it. In spite of this an attempt was made to interview Dr. Tucker, but he was about to leave the city, and, moreover, stated to the agent that he knew nothing additional about the case and referred the agent

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to another person in Philadelphia who could give him information. Several other persons were referred to by Captain Rosenbluth as being persons whose evidence the Department should have taken, but had not. But Captain Rosenbluth's statements in this regard do not seem to this Department to be worthy of notice.

2. The statements in your 6th paragraph are confused, and it is difficult to make out exactly what you are referring to. Pothier's attorney never stated to this Department that Pothier had retracted his confession, but, on the contrary, when requested by this Department to state Pothier's present attitude, he declined to do so. Rosenbluth's arrest, of course, as you probably know yourself, followed, and did not precede, Pothier's confession. It goes without saying that this Department takes an entirely different view upon the point of the alleged retraction by Pothier from that taken by Captain Rosenbluth and his friends.

3. In regard to your statements in paragraph 7 of your letter, this Department does not know what papers the prosecuting attorney for Pierce County had, since none was ever turned over to him by the authorities of this Department. He evidently had Pothier's confessions but could not have had any retraction of said confessions, since this Department had none itself.

These statements are contradicted by weighty testimony.

1. Dr. Tucker says that an attempt was made by agents of the Department of Justice to telephone him, but that he was never personally interviewed although the Department had his address. He goes on to state that both as an officer of the regiment and as a member of the Medical Board there was no question in his mind that Major Cronkhite died "from an accidental self-inflicted wound." Major Robert S. Thomas, colonel of the 213th Engineers at the time of the tragedy, bears similar testimony and expressly states that he was never interviewed by any agent of the Department of Justice. Arthur L. Miller, formerly intelligence officer of the regiment, makes a similar affidavit. Father Thomas J. Harron, formerly chaplain of the regiment, was, indeed, interviewed by an agent of the Department. His testimony was emphatic in favor of Captain Rosenbluth. In the course of a letter recording his testimony to the agent he says: "Captain Rosenbluth was generally regarded as one of the most efficient officers in the 213th Regiment. This was generally agreed upon even by those who personally disliked Captain Rosenbluth." And again, "I also informed the agent that I thought the charge against Captain Rosenbluth was probably helped by the natural antipathy which some people had against Hebrews in general."

2. With regard to Mr. Herron's second statement, Davis G. Arnold, attorney for Pothier, under date of August 23, 1921, writes to Captain Rosenbluth:

> As you know, I have refused before now, to state to you just what Pothier's attitude was in regard to this matter, as I felt that the information which I received from him should be handled directly by the Department of Justice. Mr. Pothier regrets the connection of your name with the killing of Major Cronkhite, and assures you that as far as he knows you had nothing to do with Major Cronkhite's death. The Department of Justice has been in possession of this information since April 20 last, when I visited Washington.

3. Prosecuting Attorney Selden himself answers Mr. Herron's third statement. Under date of May 28, 1921, he makes affidavit setting forth the papers surrendered by agents of the Department of Justice to him and expressly stating that Pothier's retraction was not included. As recently as October 6, *The Nation* in answer to a telegram of inquiry received the following telegraphic reply from Mr. Selden:

> (1) All papers not received from Department of Justice. Only statement we have of Pothier retraction is New York *World* article May 23. (2) No evidence in our possession at present time would even justify filing a charge.

In face of such testimony there are only three possibilities: Either a reputable attorney, a public prosecutor, a Catholic priest, and former officers and men of the American army were all so deceived by Captain Rosenbluth that they lied in his behalf, or Mr. Herron, "for the Attorney General," wilfully said what was false, or he himself was misled by subordinates in his Department or followed orders of superiors. According to Captain Rosenbluth the principal personal blame lies with former Assistant Attorney General Stewart, until recently Mr. Herron's superior in charge of the criminal branch of the Department, and with Billups Harris and James Lee, agents of the Bureau of Investigation. Which explanation shall we take? Certainly the prima-facie case against the Department is very grave. It is not a matter merely of private concern. Captain Rosenbluth is no longer in jeopardy. What he has suffered he has suffered. He fights now for principle rather than for himself. But other individuals are now suffering long prison terms because of convictions obtained by this same Department, and many individuals will be brought by it before the courts in the future. Therefore, we must know plainly whether this mighty arm of the Federal Government is a Department of Justice or of Persecution. Captain Rosenbluth is a man of intelligence and pertinacity. He has an able attorney and powerful friends. He has aroused no intense feelings against him save possibly some personal or racial ill will. If he was thus unscrupulously persecuted, is it likely that friendless men, aliens, or radicals receive the most elementary rights at the hands of the Department? The sins of Mr. Mitchell Palmer's regime have already been partially exposed in Judge Anderson's court and by the published report of twelve notable lawyers.

Here is the strongest sort of corroboratory evidence as to the Department's outrageous betrayal of every conception of justice—a betrayal which, be it noted, has extended into the new Administration. True, we hear a rumor that the Attorney General will take action. We should like to believe that rumor. Thorough investigation by Mr. Daugherty is long overdue. But that is not enough. We must discover ways to hold government agents individually responsible for their assaults upon the constitutional and moral rights of the humblest residents within our boundaries. Above all we must stir up public opinion which will no longer view tolerantly such judicial crimes as were attempted against Captain Rosenbluth. The American conception of justice demands that the Federal Department enforcing it shall not act on the principle "find a criminal or make one," but shall, instead, guard the rights of the innocent at least as zealously as it seeks the guilty. Captain Rosenbluth will not have suffered in vain if his experience opens the eyes of the American people to the necessity of protecting themselves from the various bureaucracies which they have set up in the name of their own safety.

[*As a matter of fairness to all parties concerned, a copy of this article was sent to the Department of Justice with a request for correction or comment. Despite two letters and one telegram the Department has not even acknowledged receipt of the article.*—EDITOR THE NATION.]

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The Christian Science Split

By LEE SOMERS

ONE hundred years ago Mary Baker was born in Bow, New Hampshire. During her lifetime she built up an organization which now has adherents in every part of the world; as Mary Baker Eddy she is known as the founder and leader of one of the great religious movements of modern times, a movement particularly interesting because its origin was distinctively American.

But the centenary witnessed this movement divided into factions which could not agree even about the anniversary itself. Proposals came spontaneously from many quarters that a pilgrimage be made to Bow, but as soon as these began to get attention from the press they were promptly squelched by official representatives of the church, who pointed out that observance of birthdays draws attention to the traditional span of three score years and ten, and that Christian Scientists do not approve such a connotation. The situation was further complicated by the statement of a former official of the church, recalling that Mrs. Eddy had once arranged a Lincoln Day celebration at which 5,000 persons were present. And at the time of the anniversary itself the *Christian Science Monitor* published a full-page article about the centenary. Evidently the trustees of the Publishing Society were not much concerned about the opposition of the Christian Science Board of Directors to such observance. The trustees and the directors, of course, are the opposing figures in the voluminous litigation in which Christian Science affairs are now involved.

It is, then, not surprising that persons outside Christian Science are confused—particularly when the movement is receiving publicity so varied as the press reports of the litigation, the caustic criticisms of Sinclair and Mencken, the paid advertisements of Mrs. Stetson designed to show that she is the real interpreter of Mrs. Eddy's teachings in the face of what she calls "the continued denunciation by the constituted authorities of the material organization," and the suit of Mrs. Stetson against the trustees of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, to restrain them from building what she alleges is a "spite wall" between their edifice and her home which adjoins it. Then there are the attacks on the *Monitor* by the Hearst papers (which it had attacked during the war) and the notable episode of the Cambridge History of American Literature, in which Professor Woodbridge Riley of Vassar, writing on Christian Science, referred to Mrs. Eddy as the "thrice-married female Trismegistus"—which expression among other things so displeased her followers that the offending article was promptly expunged by the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

To make certain aspects of the controversy clear, it is desirable that some common terms in Christian Science be summarized. Christian Science, to Scientists, is "the Movement" and Scientists collectively comprise "the Field." The essence of Christian Science is "harmony," and one of its popular synonyms is "the Religion of Love and Applied Righteousness." Christian Scientists are normally "in Principle," though mortal mind may lure them into "error"; "mental malpractice" and "malicious animal magnetism" are somewhat technical terms to indicate conditions opposed to Principle. But those in Principle can "demonstrate" over error.

The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, is The Mother Church, and has exclusive title to the definite article. The Publishing Society issues the publications *Sentinel*, *Journal*, *Monitor*, and authorized Christian Science works, chief among them of course the textbook, "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures." Another official publication, the Manual, figures prominently in the controversy.

Christian Scientists deny that there is any schism or break in the movement; there is only a difference of opinion on certain matters. The real purpose of the controversy is to determine whether the Christian Science Board of Directors, who have supervision over the affairs of the Church, or the Board of Trustees of the Publishing Society shall have final say as to the policies of the publications. Probably the public would have been better informed as to the merits of the Case—as it is popularly known in the Field—had not the anonymity of the principal actors been so well preserved. It is, therefore, desirable to get the dramatis personae straight at the start.

The directors include Adam H. Dickey, James A. Neal, Edward A. Merritt, William R. Rathvon, and Mrs. Annie M. Knott, the last named chosen by the other directors as successor to J. V. Dittemore, whom they ousted. Mr. Dittemore, however, contests his removal and continues to occupy an office in the building used by other members of the board. The trustees now include Herbert W. Eustace, Lamont Rowlands, and Paul Harvey. The last named succeeded, on July 5, David B. Ogden, whose resignation became effective on July 1. The editor of the Christian Science publications since the spring of 1920 is Frederick Dixon, an Englishman, who was previously editor of the *Monitor*.

Like most disagreements, the controversy had a gradual growth. The trustees were expected under the deed of trust which created the Christian Science Publishing Society to turn over any profits to the directors for the benefit of the church. Between two boards of such large powers it was inevitable that differences should develop, and though there may have been some personal elements involved, matters of policy were predominant. Eventually the differences of opinion between directors and trustees became matters of discussion in meetings of the directors, with Mr. Dittemore aligned against his colleagues, not because of any sympathy with the trustees, but because he opposed them more than the rest. Mr. Dittemore has recently charged the existence of a hierarchy in the church organization.

The Church Manual, which has been the principal support of the directors so far as the Field is concerned, gives them, in Article XXV, Vacancies in Trusteeship, this authority:

> The Christian Science Board of Directors shall have the power to declare vacancies in said trusteeship, for such reasons as to the board may seem expedient. Whenever a vacancy shall occur, the Pastor Emeritus reserves the right to fill the same by appointment, but if she does not elect to exercise this right, the remaining trustees shall fill the vacancy, subject to her approval.

Relying on this and one or two other provisions in the Manual which have rather less direct bearing, the directors, after friction with the trustees had continued for some

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time, sent to them, in February, 1919, a letter which would, had the trustees signed it, have committed them to recognition of the directors as possessing "final authority in regard to the editorial policy of the official organs of The Mother Church, and final authority in regard to all matters affecting the policy of The Mother Church or the Cause of Christian Science." The trustees refused to sign, on the ground that they had no right to do so under the deed of trust. Thereupon in a longer letter the directors alleged that the action of the trustees constituted a repudiation of the Church Manual "and a grave danger to The Mother Church."

But while the directors were at odds with the trustees, they were not at peace among themselves—at least, in their answer to a bill of complaint filed by Mr. Dittemore, after they removed him, they allege that Dittemore was "dictatorial and threatening"; that he "hindered the board in the transaction of its business; wrote numerous letters to said board critical of the conduct of the members thereof, and of the proceedings thereof, which communications were not constructive or helpful, but were contentious, vindictive, and sometimes false"; and that he had increased the "hostility" of the trustees toward the directors. The directors also denied, in this same answer, that they had been influenced by the trustees or Mr. Dixon or that they stood in any fear of the trustees or Mr. Dixon, and countered by alleging that Mr. Dittemore had tried to build up a personal following in the Field, to the detriment of the board and the church and "destructive of the orderly government provided for in the Church Manual."

There was, then, an evident lack of harmony between trustees and directors, and among the directors themselves, and matters were coming to a crisis. Dittemore wanted the entire board of trustees thrown out at once, under the provisions of the Manual, even though it necessitated an appeal to the courts and a receivership for the publications. The others wanted to remove one trustee at a time, with the expectation that eventually this process would bring about the election of a board that would acknowledge their hegemony. On March 17, 1919, the directors declared the trusteeship of Lamont Rowlands vacant, and incidentally solidified their own ranks by ousting Dittemore. Promptly the trustees appealed to the courts—Dittemore did the same thing. Eustace et al. vs. Dickey et al. went to a master, and for some months before the master's report was published matters remained in status quo, though one or two publishing-house employees who showed some interest in the controversy were discharged.

But when the master's report came out, things began to happen. The directors prepared a statement reassuring the Field, and the publications printed it. Thereupon the trustees prepared a statement of their own, mainly a reply to the directors, but the editors of the Christian Science publications rejected it as controversial. The trustees had the statement printed, nevertheless, and the editors resigned. Their resignation was followed, almost immediately, by the walk-out of a large number of Christian Scientists employed in the publishing house—an unexpected development which transformed the former matter of litigation, in which outsiders had only an academic interest, into a somewhat spectacular conflict. Every department of the publishing house was affected and for a time the organization was crippled. Even the composing room was left with an inadequate staff, and the trustees, compelled to recruit a new force, came to terms with the Typographical Union and unionized the shop. Mr. Dixon incidentally succeeded to the editorship of all the publications. During the month following the walk-out several groups of employees emulated those who had already gone, and an organization was formed in Boston to aid those who were out of jobs. Defections continued from time to time, some only within recent months. The London bureau of the *Monitor* was affected, and there were a number of resignations in other bureaus also.

The explosion in the publishing house had its immediate reaction in the Field. Subscriptions to the Christian Science publications began to fall off; churches canceled their orders for literature; advertising revenues dropped precipitately. Circulation figures for the *Christian Science Monitor* for the six months' period ending in April, required by law of all daily newspapers, showed that the average daily distribution for that period was reported as 27,268, though in 1919 the circulation had been nearly five times as great. The decline was not wholly due to the controversy, because the *Monitor* had meantime changed from an evening paper, with a Boston local edition, to an international newspaper with only one edition. This change in policy deprived the *Monitor* of some local circulation in Boston, perhaps 20,000 readers in all. For the six months ending in April, 1920, the average circulation was reported as 87,877. The average for the period ending in October, 1920, was only 42,166, and the present circulation is probably not more than 20,000—a decline of 80 per cent. Obviously such a condition indicates that the divergence of views is sharp, and that considerable unrest exists in the Field. The Publishing Society had made large profits up to the time of the break last year. The boycott of the *Monitor* and various other Christian Science publications, however, has presumably altered this condition.

A bill of complaint filed by the directors against the trustees in April of last year sets forth fairly well the case of the complainants. The bill cites the Manual with regard to the selection of trustees and editors, and a section which prescribes that "it shall be the privilege and duty of every member who can afford it, to subscribe for the periodicals which are the organs of the church; and it shall be the duty of the directors to see that these periodicals are ably edited and kept abreast of the times." The bill admits that profits from the publishing house for five years ending March 31, 1919, were more than $1,500,000, and that the last semi-annual payment, for the period ending on that date, was $231,896.58. However, it contends that the business is profitable only as a result of the support of the church and because the periodicals are recognized as official organs of the church. The trustees, the bill alleges, have failed to conduct the affairs of the publishing house in accordance with the instructions of Mrs. Eddy "as to what is necessary to promote the interests of the Cause, but on the contrary they have assumed an attitude of hostility and defiance to the plaintiffs . . . and have antagonized Christian Scientists throughout the world." Charges of waste and mismanagement on the part of the trustees are also made in the bill.

The case for the trustees is set forth in an argument by Charles E. Hughes before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts which asserts that Mrs. Eddy's purpose in establishing the trust under which the Publishing Society's affairs are managed was to promote and extend Christian Science, not merely to promote the interests of The Mother

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Church; that the trustees had managed the affairs of the society very successfully, even though money-making was not the primary purpose of the trust; that the trust had never been modified, and was by its terms perpetual and irrevocable. Mrs. Eddy, he contended, knew quite well how to reserve power to change a trust, but did not make any such reservations except a personal power to advice the trustees if she chose to do so. In the deed of trust, Mr. Hughes said, the words "perpetual" and "irrevocable" were underscored. Moreover, Mrs. Eddy's last word on the subject, according to the argument, ratified and confirmed the trust, through an expression in her will.

There are numerous cross-currents in the ebb and flow of Christian Science affairs. The *Christian Science Monitor* has of late been singled out for attack by the Hearst newspapers on the ground of its alleged pro-British bias. It is the feeling of many Christian Scientists and others that there is a foundation for this criticism.

It may perhaps be well to explain briefly a few peculiarities of newspaper style on the *Monitor* that seem perplexing to the average person. The most important regulation, perhaps, in the *Monitor's* style book refers to the use of the word Principle, which must be capitalized and which can be used only as referring to Deity. Some liberty is permitted in quotation. Christian Scientists are jealous of the word science and will not permit its use in the publications, in its usual sense, unless it is qualified as "natural science." The publications do not use the word "spirit." Tea and coffee are not favored by Christian Science and they are not mentioned in the *Monitor*. Tobacco is under the interdict. If the *Monitor* reproduces a photograph of a man smoking, the cigarette or cigar is painted out. Vermin eradicators cannot be advertised; neither can, for example, such articles as tire chains, for the reason that they connote accidents. An enterprising Boston advertising man once began an advertisement, which he wrote for all the Boston papers, with the words, "By the seven gods of Rome." But since there were no seven gods—only Principle—the *Monitor* caused the advertisement to be rewritten.

Names of diseases are not mentioned, and maternity is classed as a disease. There is no mention of maternity in the *Monitor*. As was indicated by the attitude of the movement toward the Eddy centenary, birthdays are commonly ignored; and years are seldom mentioned in connection with the life of an individual, though the *Monitor* made a conspicuous exception in this case. Marriage likewise is under the ban. When it becomes necessary to allude to some person deceased—for example, the late President Roosevelt—the article is written in such a way that the fact of his decease will not appear. To the average newspaperman, the rules which relate to expressions connoting disease and death would seem difficult. Names of diseases must not be used, and the verb "to die" is barred, in favor of the expression "to pass away" or "to pass on." However, the verb "kill" is permissible and was used during the war in casualty lists; and the verb "to destroy" may be used as synonymous with the verb "to kill." "Fatality" may be used also.

Christian Scientists express the opinion that the controversy will, in the long run, be beneficial to the movement, in that it has stimulated interest among members of the church in the scheme of church government and in the Manual. The outcome of the litigation, of course, is as yet in doubt, but a court decision is expected shortly.

A 100-Per-Cent American Strike

By GEORGE P. WEST

AT the lower end of the San Joaquin Valley in California, where the Coast Range breaks down to the eastward into a tumble of weary brown hills overlooking the desert, 8,000 oil workers are enjoying their first strike. Oil production is stopped in the second largest field in the country, and the State is marveling at the perfect organization of wage-earners who have taken over the economic and political control of whole districts, towns, and even a county.

No, it isn't sovietism or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Rather it is a strike *à la* George M. Cohan, with American Legion trimmings. For these naive oil workers are taking patriotism seriously. Service buttons and American flags and deputy sheriff's badges are their insignia, and their sole demand is that the absentee owners of the wells submit to the underwriting of wages and conditions (about which there is no dispute) by the Federal Government. They don't even ask union recognition and have accepted a wage reduction of $1 a day.

State authorities, shouters for law and order, and the employers themselves are flabbergasted. It is a situation worthy of Bernard Shaw. Here is one whole county and part of another absolutely in the control of organized wage-earners, with 500 of them deputized as peace officers and patrolling the highways in armed squads called "law and order patrols," with instructions to stop every suspicious automobile, arrest every bootlegger, and turn back every gunman and strike-breaker. And they are doing it. The Volstead Act is being enforced as never before. The striker patrols wear American Legion buttons and deputy constable's badges. The county and town officials and the merchants praise their patriotism and their efficiency. The few farmers in the district contribute to their commissariat and refuse water from their wells to the few forlorn gunmen who break through the cordon. Half a dozen of these last were disarmed by a strikers' patrol (of deputy constables) and put on a departing train. They'd seen enough, anyhow, and left amid cheers after wishing the strikers luck. A handful of stormy petrels of the I. W. W. who rode the rods into Bakersfield were arrested, disarmed, taken before the strikers' central committee, questioned, and deported. The union officers quoted them as saying: "Yes, we're I. W. W.'s, and the tough kind at that. We can accomplish more in ten minutes here with a match than you can in ten years with your tactics." All of which appeared in the press, and left the committee of absentee owners, meeting 300 miles away in San Francisco, gasping. (In fairness to the I. W. W. it should be pointed out that detective agencies have been known to hire fake "wobblies" both to talk arson and act it. The Better America Federation has two renegade "wobblies" on its pay roll. Their function is to appear at every criminal syndicalism trial in the State and recite a list of atrocities committed by themselves as members of the I. W. W. I don't charge that they actually joined the I. W. W. and committed these offenses as employees of the Federation. There is no such evidence.) But whether real "wobblies" or fake, the oil workers would have none of them.

Of course the baffled operators' committee, sitting in San Francisco, cried sovietism and appealed to the Governor. He sent his secretary to investigate, and a patrol of strikers

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(deputies) stopped his car on the road. He remonstrated amiably, and before he left the strike committee had promised that their patrols would no longer stop cars. But they will continue their vigilance. These patrols are organized with military precision. Hundreds of cars and motor-cycles are at their disposal, and a striker who was sergeant of marines in France has organized a signaling system of wig-wags by day and fires by night. The patrols are stationed as far away as Santa Margarita on the coast side of the mountains, and any attempt to import strike-breakers would be instantly detected and reported to headquarters.

As I write, the operators announce that they have abandoned their attempt to bring in guards and scabs. They realize, as everyone else does, that the appearance of any large number of these professional ruffians would mean miniature war in the oil fields. Apparently the authorities and the public have learned something of the lesson of Colorado, West Virginia, the Mesaba Range, Bayonne, Youngstown. District Attorney Jesse Dorsey of Kern County has been outspoken in defense of the strikers' insistence on keeping out gunmen.

Meanwhile the strikers are marking time, waiting for help from Washington, whither Hywell Davies, veteran Kentucky coal operator and Department of Labor mediator, has hurried with a report. Operators quote President Harding's slogan: "Less government in business," and assert that peace-time underwriting of wage agreements by the Government is the entering wedge of socialism. It is a nice problem for President Harding and his advisers. Can the conservative among them discover some sacred principle requiring that oil production be left to unregulated private enterprise, although industrial relations in railroad operation must be government-regulated? If so, if the Government turns down strikers asking only effective government mediation, how can it later assert its authority as trustee for the public in some dispute where its failure to act would mean turning its back, not on a few thousand day laborers, but on some important industrial and financial interest? What makes the problem so very hard is that no striker has been considerate enough so much as to throw a brick. The oil workers are not "a lawless element." They are admittedly the custodians of law and order.

I've left out the Hamlet of this play. He is Walter J. Yarrow, a handsome, rather small, well-dressed, almost dapper Scotch-American with an I. W. W. past, a gift of language, the clipped, clean, forceful speech of his native land, facile and at home in the world of ideas, with the glistening keenness and organizing efficiency of a *Saturday Evening Post* hero. He organized the oil workers four years ago and appealed to the Federal Government. The President's mediation commission used its tremendous war-time authority to gain for them the eight-hour day instead of the twelve and a substantial wage increase. All this without a strike. For two or three years the new union remained outside of the American Federation of Labor, then entered it as a new international. Yarrow remained the "master mind," with the modest title of "adviser." He is an avowed business man, scorns sentimentality, and gets a good salary. Until August of this year he succeeded in getting annual renewals of the agreement covering wages and conditions, and each year the men gained something. The Standard Oil Company alone stayed out, but managed it by giving their men "voluntarily" everything the union demanded. In 1920 the agreements were renewed under protest, and largely through the influence of Al Weil, a big-spirited San Francisco lawyer, who is counsel for the General Petroleum Company.

Meeting Yarrow then and marking his confident enthusiasm for industrial progress through government mediation, I smiled at what seemed to me his naivete. I told him how the War Labor Board had collapsed the moment the armistice was signed and the Government lost its prestige as Santa Claus to American business. I predicted that the operators would kick his little show into splinters for all the Government could or would do to prevent. I thought then and think now that Yarrow is sincere in his conversion to 100-per-cent Americanism. And certainly the 8,000 oil workers are. They've never been through a strike before. Yarrow himself hasn't. They are a singularly buoyant and upstanding lot, most of them mechanics and jacks of all trades. They are swelling with pride in their organization and their cooperative stores and their plans for extending these last and even for operating oil wells of their own on a cooperative basis. They have gone into politics to elect legislators and executives, and their control of the police power of the oil fields is the first fruits.

If I felt a bit patronizing and doubtful about Yarrow and his plans a year ago, I don't any longer. If Americanism means anything, the oil workers will be vindicated in everything they have done and will go back to work with renewed enthusiasm for their constructive work in real economic and political democracy. If Americanism doesn't mean anything, then Yarrow has taken the most effective means of demonstrating it, and 8,000 oil workers and as many more as can put two and two together will have had a liberal education in the structure and function and animus of the established order. They can, if they will, have that lesson and keep their gains besides. If President Harding refuses to bring pressure on the operators, or tries it and fails, I believe Yarrow and his colleagues are daring enough and shrewd enough to advise the men to return to work before their treasury is exhausted and their spirit broken. The glaring weakness in American strike technique has been the pig-headed pride of leaders who have starved the spirit out of their men after all hope of winning had vanished. The other technique (used in the lumber industry by the I. W. W.), is to return to work buoyant and unbroken, and to wait for the next opportunity. The lesson for labor in these hard times is the utter inadequacy of the old union tactics, the inadequacy, that is, of the strike weapon alone. Unionists must face the fact that labor *is* a commodity, and will continue to be until they have used their collective power not merely to strike, but to rebuild society.

The spectacle in the oil fields of California is exhilarating not because the workers have a ghost of a show literally to win their strike, because they haven't, in this time of overproduction and slack demand. It is exhilarating because it demonstrates that organized workers can capture the political and economic control of any community in which they can win the support of a clear majority and can do it by constitutional means. Nothing stands in the way of extending that control from Kern County to the entire United States except a colossal job of organization. The first task is to establish the identity of interest between all who do useful work, whether by hand or brain, between all who live by service, not privilege. Mr. Yarrow's Kern County enterprise is relatively futile not because there is anything wrong with the idea or the method, but because the field of operations is too small.

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False Cooperatives and a $15,000,000 Shell-Game

By H. RAPPAPORT

THE Cooperative Society of America, a colossal venture in frenzied finance, was adjudged bankrupt by Judge Evan A. Evans in the United States District Court in Chicago, October 6. Newspaper reports indicate that the liabilities of the society were $15,000,000, and that the assets seizable by the receiver do not amount to more than $50,000. It appears that whatever assets remained had been transferred to another company, The Cooperators of America, managed by virtually the same trustees who control the bankrupt concern. During the two and a half years of the life of The Cooperative Society of America at least half a dozen subsidiary concerns were organized by the trustees of the principal company, and assets were deftly shifted from one company to another, until millions vanished. It is a colossal shell-game in which the assets represent the elusive pea and the evanescent companies conceived by Mr. Parker represent the shells.

The story of the operations of The Cooperative Society of America rivals the devious exploits of the fictitious Mr. Wallingford. To float millions of dollars' worth of securities, the increasing popular interest in consumers' cooperation was capitalized. While the ranks of the cooperatives in the United States were being swelled by hundreds of thousands of real cooperators, a horde of schemers and stock-jobbing promoters were also being attracted. Within the past few years many so-called cooperatives have been organized by experts in frenzied finance. Invariably the pseudo-cooperative fails within a short time, and it is then discovered by the dupes that they were never members of a cooperative, but had put their savings into a joint-stock or other association controlled by the promoter for his own gain.

The most popular type of business adopted by the "cooperative" promoter is the common-law trust. A trust is a legitimate means resorted to by wealthy spendthrifts who desire to protect themselves against their own extravagance. Trusts are also established commonly for providing for children and other incompetents. The creator of a "trust" grants the legal title and control of the property, which is the subject of the trust, to a trustee. At the same time the grantor confers certain powers upon the trustee, which are to be exercised over the property for the benefit of named beneficiaries. This legitimate arrangement is now being abused by promoters who are organizing spurious cooperatives under deeds of trust. They prefer the trust form of doing business to the corporate or partnership type, because of the vast powers they may employ as trustees.

By far the most spectacular and dangerous organization of this character is, or perhaps one had better now say was, The Cooperative Society of America, with headquarters in Chicago. This society was created out of the ruins of the National Society of Fruitvalers. On February 20, 1919, one Edith S. Parker filed a Declaration of Trust in the Recorder's Office in Cook County, Illinois, naming her husband Harrison Parker, and N. A. Hawkenson and John Coe as trustees. The estate they were given to manage consisted of certain heavily mortgaged property of doubtful value, in Muskegon, Michigan, which had been the property of the defunct National Society of Fruitvalers. The trust estate to be managed by the three trustees was to be enhanced through the sale of certificates of beneficial interests. Purchasers of these certificates are known as members of The Cooperative Society of America.

The authority conferred upon the three trustees of the society by Mrs. Parker's declaration of trust remind one of the powers of an Oriental potentate. The provisions of this declaration of trust have been characterized by Dr. Lindley M. Keasbey, one of the New York organizers of the society, as "the best practical means for realizing the cooperative aim in this country." However, the society makes every effort to conceal the trust agreement. Not even the agents of the society are supplied with copies of the declaration. Here are some of the amazing powers conferred upon the trustees by means of it:

The trustees are appointed to hold office until February, 1940. They may not be removed in the interim for anything short of fraud, and then only through the action of a court of equity. The trustees own the legal title to all the property bought with the money contributed by the subscribers. The trustees may sell or mortgage such property without the consent of the members. They "may loan money to any corporation or trust of which they (the trustees) may own shares." The trustees have power to vote all shares of stock at any time belonging to the trust estate. The declaration provides that the trustees are not to be bonded to indemnify the members for losses arising out of dishonesty. It also provides that the trustees are not to be liable to the members for the results of their incompetence, or for their acts or failures to act, no matter how rash or ill-advised their business undertakings may be.

The trustees are authorized by the declaration of trust to appoint themselves officers of The Cooperative Society of America and to fix their own compensation. In addition they may "appoint and may likewise pay to themselves out of the trust estate such compensation for their services as trustees *as they shall deem reasonable,* provided that such compensation for all trustees shall never exceed a total of 4½ *per cent of the income* of the trust estate." The members, on the other hand, have no powers except those which courts of equity bestow upon the beneficiary of a trust for his protection. They cannot compel the trustees to pay dividends out of the earnings of the business, for the declaration of trust provides that

> The trustees *may* from time to time declare and pay dividends out of the net income from time to time received by them from the trust estate, but the amount of such dividends and the payment of them shall be *wholly in the discretion* of the trustees.

Even in a frankly capitalistic corporation the stockholders may compel the directors to pay dividends out of earnings. The members of this so-called cooperative society have not this right. The declaration also provides that the members of the society shall not be entitled to an accounting. They have never been furnished any financial statements certified to by public accountants.

There is absolutely no provision for democratic participation in the business by members of The Cooperative Society of America, though the outstanding feature of a co-

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operative enterprise is the fact that it is democratically controlled by the cooperators. So much for the powers of the trustees and the questionable rights of the members of this spurious society.

Unfortunately for the promoters of this enterprise, there was a considerable number of investors among the 81,000 members who were not content to remain in ignorance of the financial condition of the society. Charges were made by members that Harrison Parker, having acquired political ambitions, organized The Cooperative Party and then ran for Governor of the State of Illinois, using the funds of the C. S. of A. in his campaign. Dissatisfied members also stated that dividends declared by the society were paid out of money taken in through the sale of securities, and not out of earnings, and that the stores of the company were being run at a heavy financial loss.

Denied the opportunity to voice their grievances within the organization, members of the society have repeatedly petitioned courts of equity to take the property of the society out of the hands of the trustees and to appoint a receiver. It was in the latest of these actions that Judge Evans appointed a receiver to manage the affairs of the society, after much proof had been adduced which may result in the criminal prosecution of the trustees by the Federal authorities.

Hearings in the bankruptcy petition before Master in Chancery C. B. Morrison, appointed by Judge Evans, disclosed the following facts: That the Midwest Advertising Company, capitalized at $500, had been organized to dispose of certificates in the C. S. of A., for a 15 per cent commission. The Midwest Company was owned entirely by Harrison Parker and his wife. Later the Midwest Company was abandoned and the versatile Mrs. Parker organized the Great Western Securities Company, the $50,000 capital of which was contributed solely by Mrs. Parker. This company was given a contract by the trustees of the C. S. of A. to market the securities of the latter organization, on the basis of a 20 per cent commission. Though Mrs. Parker was absent most of the time in Europe, she received a salary of $500 a week for her labors as secretary and treasurer of the Securities Company. The Great Western Securities Company earned $1,522,609 for Mrs. Parker through the sale of certificates in Harrison Parker's cooperative society.

As long as money continued to flow in through the disposal of certificates, no difficulties were encountered. But on August 10 Judge Landis issued an injunction against the trustees of the C. S. of A. restraining them from the further sale of their securities. The society was also banned in Wisconsin and Michigan, by the officials administering the blue-sky laws, and several agents of the C. S. of A. were arrested.

Finding the sailing rather difficult in Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Illinois, the agents of The Cooperative Society of America opened offices in New York, and are now attempting to sell their certificates unhampered by police interference. No effort had been made by the authorities, up to the time this article went to press, to actually interfere with the sale of securities by the C. S. of A. Attorney General Newton, however, after investigating the matter for about two months, has appointed a local deputy in New York City to investigate further. In the meantime the salesmen of the C. S. of A. are reaping a harvest. When Mr. S. De Bardos, the local manager of the company in New York City, was asked what he intended to do in view of the bankruptcy of the organization, he said: "We are going to go ahead and continue the sale of securities. We do not intend to sit back and permit Attorney General Newton to curb our activities. We are a common-law company and as such are not amenable to control by State authorities. We will fight Attorney General Newton if he attempts to interfere with us." It may well be asked how millions of dollars could have been collected from 80,000 people by an organization of this character. The answer discloses the conditions which at present surround the cooperative movement in the United States.

In the first place millions of consumers are seeking desperately to protect themselves against the extortions of other groups in society organized to exploit them. All other groups seem to be efficiently organized against the consumer. The consumer finds himself alone and unprotected by any form of organization. He is now turning in the direction of any movement aiming to organize consumers for the elimination of profiteering.

Coupled with this eager desire on the part of consumers for the organization of groups for self-protective purposes is an appalling lack of knowledge of the principles and business methods of cooperative enterprises. Every worker knows the objects of labor unions and is familiar with the organic structure of unions. Comparatively few consumers, however, have any detailed knowledge of the aims of the cooperative movement and the structure of a sound cooperative society.

The average consumer who has thought of cooperating with his fellow consumer learns of the existence of powerful cooperatives abroad, all of which are governed by the Rochdale principles. He usually has no conception of the simple structure of Rochdale cooperatives, which are everywhere characterized by the following democratic principles: (1) Every member of the cooperative society has one vote, and only one, regardless of the number of shares he may own. The members elect their own directors and may remove them. The members determine the general policies of the business at their meetings. (2) The capital contributed by the cooperators receives a fixed rate of interest at not more than the current legal rate. (3) Any "profits" earned in the business are distributed among the members in proportion to their patronage. Goods are usually sold at current prices, and a surplus will therefore remain after all expenses have been paid. Such surplus is divided among the members, after a certain portion has been deducted for educational and social purposes, and after some of the "earnings" have been set aside for purposes of expansion. (4) The membership is not limited to any group or class. All consumers may join.

The foregoing principles govern genuine cooperative societies. Unfortunately the knowledge of these principles is not disseminated widely enough among prospective cooperators, which accounts for the presence of the many spurious cooperatives which prey upon this country. To meet this condition in the United States there is a great need for cooperative education. It is only through educational activities on the part of a central, national body that the consumer can be warned against the schemes of fraudulent promoters. Cooperators realize that without some such bureau of information, which is ever alert to safeguard the consumer, the cooperative movement will be the prey of frenzied financiers.

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Divided China and the Disarmament Conference

By NATHANIEL PEFFER

THE sympathy with which Americans always view remote revolutions, not Russian, naturally inclines them to regard favorably the South China movement. Even the law-and-order press lends a sympathetic ear to the claims of the rebellious South China Government to a seat at the Disarmament Conference. The imminence of the conference and the insistence of the South China Government on representation at the conference make a practical and immediate issue of the schism in China.

The issue has two parts: as it reveals internal conditions in China and as it applies to the conference. Now, as between the internationally recognized Government of China at Peking and the Government of South China at Canton, I think all those who know Chinese conditions at first-hand will agree that the latter is the better—one who wanted to cut fine distinctions in words would say that the former is the worse. So far as the Peking Government is concerned, everything that the Cantonese say of it is true. It is not a legal government chosen by legal processes. It is a government by *force majeure*. It does not function over the whole country. Its mandates are ignored except in the territory contiguous to the capital. It is entangled with the Japanese. It is rotten with corruption, poisoned with treason, dank with degeneracy. I cannot conceive of a more wretched capital, a capital whose physical and historical grandeur only sets off the more tragically its moral and contemporary degradation. If the future of China be envisaged only from Peking, then assuredly China is perdition-bound. Whatever the Washington Conference may do for China in its international relations, China will remain a prey to foreign plunder so long as Peking is China's representation to the world.

All that is true of Peking, but it does not follow because Canton is in rebellion against Peking that Canton is all that Peking is not. Only by the wildest stretch of propagandist imagination can the spokesmen of Canton in this country say, as they do, that the southern Government represents 200,000,000 Chinese. As a matter of fact it is not accurate to talk at all of only two governments in China. There are something more like eighteen, that being the number of provinces. In each province the local military commander is the satrap thereof. The southern Government functions fully only in Kwangtung Province, of which Canton is the capital. It functions for the time and after a fashion in the neighboring province of Kwangsi, which its military forces have just conquered. And that is all that can be said for it. The military rulers of Yunnan and Kweichow provinces pay a sort of tolerant allegiance to Canton, but they do not carry out its orders. As for Hunan, President Sun Yat-Sen of Canton would get as short shrift in the city of Changsha as would President Hsu Shih-Chang of Peking. The Hunanese, like the people of most of China, are sick of the politicians of Peking and Canton alike.

As Canton is just as restricted in its sway as is Peking, so also is it as self-constituted. Canton's contention that it is the only legal government in China is based on the presence in Canton of a parliament. But this is not a parliament. It is a rump. It is the rump of the Parliament originally elected in 1913 and buffeted about from place to place since then, serving now one faction, and now another, now the genuine constitutionalists when they held the power and the money-bags, and now the militarists when they held the power and the money-bags. Their allegiance has gone always to the highest bidder, and since Peking has had the most money by reason of Japanese loans most of them have gone Pekingward. A parliament, it has never legislated. In recent years it has scarcely met, its members living lives of pleasant ease in the feasting-halls of Canton, comfortably maintained by the contributions of the Cantonese laundrymen and chop-suey restaurant proprietors of America and the prosperous Amoy merchants of the Philippines, the Malay states, and Java.

I was in Canton five months ago when the latest South China Government was proclaimed and Sun Yat-Sen elected President. Of the 900 members of the original Parliament something like 130 were present. There was no pretense of getting a quorum. The meeting itself was a coup rather than a legislative assembly. There was no formal call. The only body that had the authority to issue such a call—the Administrative Council, or Cabinet—had not yet decided whether or not to reconvene parliament and whether or not to proclaim a government and have a president at all. Most of them, I know from their own statements to me, were opposed. They preferred to carry out their admirable plans for provincial reconstruction unhampered by the mummery of provincial governments and the trappings of military organization. Two days before the "election" I spent several hours with some of the heads of the Administrative Council and they talked of such a step as a remote possibility. Some of them got their first notification of it as I did—from the Canton papers the next morning. The meeting of the parliamentary rump had been precipitated and steam-rollered by a little group of Sun Yat-Sen's disciples and sycophants. So far as the Canton Government's legality is concerned, it rests on the dubious action of the rump of a thoroughly discredited body, a body that was elected nine years ago and has never gone back to its electors for a mandate. If 130 out of 900 members of that Parliament make Canton the legal government of China and Sun Yat-Sen the legal President, suppose some other politician should gather around himself in Hangchow or Yunnanfu 140 out of the remaining 770?

Nevertheless, what choice there is as between Canton and Peking must be in Canton's favor, since it is less corrupt and less tainted with treason. But it is a long jump in logic to concede that Canton should be given exclusive right to represent China at Washington or even the right to sit at Washington on an equality with Peking and as a separate government. Peking is still the legally recognized Government of China, and little as it may deserve recognition there is not the slightest ground in international law or practical wisdom for withdrawing recognition in favor of a government five months old and itself of doubtful recommendations. To do so, in fact, would be setting a precedent ultimately costly to China. It would be inviting into China even greater chaos. Let the Powers once begin hawking about recognition from province to province and city to city, and recognition will become a favor to be bar-

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tered by certain Powers in exchange for special rights and privileges. International concessioneering will return in a more virulent and malignant form.

Peking being the recognized Government of China, its delegation must speak for China at the conference. If Canton is to be represented, as in some form it should, that must be either by a separate delegation, representing a separate government, or in a coalition delegation including appointees of both Peking and Canton. In all China's relations with foreign nations it has always been a cardinal principle that whatever dissension there might be within China it has been united as against foreign nations. However divided internally and politically, racially it faced the outer world as a single entity. At the Paris Conference this principle held. There was then, too, internal dissension, with two governments—as there has always been in China these latter days—but at Paris one delegation spoke for China, a delegation made up of representatives of both governments. How effectively it spoke for China we know from the fact that it converted the public opinion of the world to recognition of the injustice there done China.

This principle all well-wishers of China have hoped to see maintained at this conference. But Canton now for the first time has rejected it. The Peking Government has offered it representation in China's delegation at Washington. Canton has refused. It has insisted either that Peking be ignored entirely by the Powers—which it knows to be legally impossible—or that Canton be represented by a separate delegation as another government. And it has formally served notice that unless it is so represented it will not accept as binding on China any decisions reached by the conference.

Now, if there is any certain way by which the Chinese can further Japan's aims at the conference, if there is one way by which they can frustrate what hopes there are of building up an internationally guaranteed defense of China's sovereignty against Japanese aggression or any other Power's aggression, it is by giving concrete evidence at Washington of irreparable dissension in China. The defense that Japan has always made of its meddling in China's affairs—the defense that aggressive imperialisms always make of their encroachments in disturbed territories in which they seek a foothold—is that China is hopelessly divided and that the resultant chaos is a menace to Japan's security, especially as Japan depends so much on its trade with China. This is the basis also of the propaganda for international control. The Chinese reply has always been that China's internal difficulties are incidental to its political transition and temporary, and do not affect its relations with other nations.

Now come the Cantonese giving corroboration to Japan. They say, in effect, China is not a single, unified nation and cannot be dealt with as such; that the sovereignty of China, which it is the avowed object of the conference to safeguard, cannot be made secure because there is no single sovereignty. They obscure the one clear issue before the conference: the liberation of China and the guaranteeing of its right to unmolested existence. For ten years Japan's policy has been to foster disturbance in China, to set faction fighting against faction and section against section, to muddy the waters, for in muddied waters strong nations fish best. That policy the Cantonese are now forwarding, now when for the first time since China has had dealings with the outer world there is a chance that its relations with the world may be set on a more favorable basis than that of prey and beast.

There is involved, then, in the dispute over China's representation at the conference something more than the interplay of domestic factional rivalries. There is involved the prospect of a better world position for China. There is involved also the success or failure of America's policy in the Far East—an independent, self-sufficient China free from foreign molestation—and therefore the peace of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Healthy-Mindedness

By HAROLD BRUCE

"YOU used to look interesting," says Talcott Anderson to me, "but now you just look healthy."

I'm afraid he's right. I *feel* healthy. I look out on the once round romantic surface of the earth and find it walkably flat. I have home-brew instead of a skeleton in the closet. With me the god of go has replaced the god of long ago. I have lost the edge and tang of the perilous and forlorn.

"Their religion, if they have one," says G. Lowes Dickinson of us Americans, "is what they call healthy-mindedness."

I'm afraid he's right. Once we had days of Memory, of Labor, and of Thanksgiving. Now we have the World Series, Dempsey-Carpentier, and Yale-Harvard. Once we had spiritual dreamers like Emerson, imaginative drunkards like Poe, and expansive tramps like Whitman. Then we weren't healthy, but we were interesting. Now Harold Bell Wright outsells them all. The first edition of "When a Man's a Man" filled forty freight cars. Forty car loads of mush to keep us healthy!

You can't catch us now in a tragic pose. There may be a cancerous group of long faces, Carl Sandburg, Edgar Lee Masters, Waldo Frank, Van Wyck Brooks, Eugene O'Neill, trying to cast a spell of gloom and self-analysis over us. There may be a set of propaganda-depressed weeklies trying to hypnotize us into doubt of our politicians and our prosperity. But the great heart of America beats too soundly for these Svengalis. We take the *Saturday Evening Post* and smile through. With Pollyanna we look on the bright side until it seems the right side.

In the drama the manager stands between us and catastrophe. "Hamlet" and "Lear," he sees, move us not. For neurasthenics like Hamlet we have psychoanalysis, and for aged outcasts like Lear we provide Old Peoples' Homes. He takes care that no modern author makes Shakespeare's mistake. I remember that in Charles Kenyon's "Kindling," as it was first written, the East Side tenement mother chopped the cradle of her unborn baby into kindling, and the Los Angeles ladies fainted in rows. The manager intervened, and in San Francisco a reprieve from the Governor brought the husband to kneel at the mother's side under the falling curtain, as she murmured, "We will go out to Montana together, where the roses bloom." The ladies in the audience, not having been to Montana, did not faint.

The movies, even more than the stage the mirror of our national soul, are safe in the hands of 100 per cent optimistic producers. They fade out in happy kisses by the mile. Placed end to end, the films of osculatory finales would, I

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doubt not, stretch from Los Angeles to Seattle, from Seattle to Portland, Maine, from Portland, Maine, to St. Augustine, from St. Augustine back to Los Angeles—all bound round with a kissing film! Is it not sweetly and subtly significant that the driveway of "Pickfair" is laid out—a cold phrase, laid out!—in the shape of a heart?

In the story, the third art form in which we have achieved quantity production, the editor, or perhaps the publisher, protects us from soul-shock. *Adventure*, says a printed slip, "wants stories of action, *not* stories that are morbid or that leave the reader uncomfortable." Since 80 per cent of the stories written by boys and girls between sixteen and twenty-two end in murder, suicide, or general blight, and since *Adventure* and its colleagues keep the percentage of cheer and survival in printed stories up to at least ninety-nine, it is clear that we subject American writers of the age of Keats and Chatterton to a bracing discipline. They must get healthy or get out.

As for comfort, it is found in endings like these:

"Shirley went out into the night, with his face toward the stars."

"'We'll all be happy now,' whispered Mary Louise, as she shyly kissed him."

"So their daddy, Sunshine, can make the world bright and cheerful for the little children."

"'Oh, Jack,' she laughed back happily, 'it would be heaven.'"

Another favorite recipe for that comfort toward which the whole art of American creation moves is the formula of going west, in the Horace Greeley, not the British Tommy, sense. It saved Charles Kenyon's bacon. It is always getting Douglas Fairbanks out of the studio into the saddle. It has a lot to do with W. S. Hart's bank account. It is a variation of the "move-on" instinct which speaks through policemen, and which somehow makes the ships sailing away from New York seem to solve the problem in "The Harbor" and the train for Chicago to keep "Moon-Calf's" face set toward the stars.

There is no comradeship in all this with the spiritual struggles of Byron and Shelley, of Carlyle and Arnold. They died long ago, and their doubts with them. The new century, which has changed all that, says: "Why be miserable? It's just as easy to be glad. Try writing something brighter and more cheerful." If only this advice could have been given to Thomas Hardy in time!

The new age speaks in a youthful critic, who writes: "My idea is to try to improve conditions but not to become morbid by dwelling on the painful. I am fed-up on tragedies . . . my soul is demanding something happy."

She lives in America. She'll get it.

Contributors to This Issue

LEE SOMERS is a Washington newspaperman formerly on the staff of the *Christian Science Monitor* in Boston and later connected with its Washington bureau.

NATHANIEL PEFFER is an American journalist who has just returned from a five years' residence in the Far East.

H. RAPPAPORT is secretary of the Executive Board of the Cooperative League of America.

HAROLD BRUCE is associate professor of English composition at the University of California.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter believes that one of the functions of every live writer is to annoy his readers. Seldom has this column been so successful in that direction as with a few words recently indited in regard to the city of Quebec. One of those who protests against the Drifter's comments writes from Brooklyn, which the uninformed may be glad to know is the largest and best-known suburb of Fresh Pond, Long Island. The Drifter wants it understood that when in future he writes captiously of cities which he visits, he will read no protests from residents of Brooklyn. Such persons necessarily regard any other town in which they have lived as a slice of Paradise and have become such stinging critics by reason of their environment that the Drifter cannot risk an encounter with them.

* * * * *

IN regard to Quebec, for instance, the Drifter spoke deprecatingly of finding a souvenir stand and ice-cream booth nestling right against the church of Sainte Anne de Beaupré. This, explains his Brooklyn correspondent, was installed in response to the complaints of poor accommodations made by visitors from the United States. And then: "No one who has heard a tourist from the United States complain will blame the authorities for accepting the suggestion." Ahem! The Drifter forbears comment—having nothing to say. But the objector from Brooklyn does not stop there. He passes on to the Drifter's remark that Baedeker exaggerated in describing Quebec as "the most picturesque city in North America." Says he of Brooklyn: "The Drifter's quotation from Baedeker is nothing short of malicious in its deliberate ignoring of the insidious German's qualifying phrase: *'in North America.'*" Anyhow the Drifter is not such a dullard as not to know when he is scored on. Hereafter when a man from Brooklyn comes to bat for Quebec, the Drifter will pass him to first on balls.

* * * * *

IN a certain respectable bourgeois section of New York City lives a young man who is an active and ardent member of the Socialist Party. That party polls a few dozen votes at every election against several thousand each for the Democrats and Republicans. The young man in question is usually a candidate of his party for some office. That is the one sure way, he says, of getting some return for his taxes. He doubts if the police protection or the street cleaning in his section is worth the amount of his tax bill, but he thinks he more than gets even by the free advertising among his neighbors which he obtains from having his name emblazoned on countless ballots at the expense of the Board of Elections. The other day, however, he came along the street, disconsolate, and in reply to a question as to what was the trouble he said: "Hang it all, they've reduced my salary by $6,000 a year. Last November I ran for Congress at $7,500 per annum, but this autumn I am put up for the State Assembly at only $1,500. How I am ever going to stand the cut, I can't make out."

* * * * *

THE most tantalizing thing in reading the last edition of an evening newspaper is trying to guess the story that was in the extras that the newsboys were calling at 9 o'clock in the morning.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Excelsior!

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The recent mountain tragedy which caused the death of President Winthrop E. Stone of Purdue University created a loss to American collegiate life. As a laboratory investigator whose contributions in organic chemistry and in the chemistry of nutrition were of recognized value, he brought to his presidential office the scientific understanding prerequisite to competent intellectual leadership of a large technological institution. To this he added a broad humanism and a sincerity of purpose most comforting to those who still treasure the older traditions of collegiate leadership. That his institution, during the quarter century of his control, participated in the phenomenal expansion of the Middle Western State colleges without any lowering of educational standards demonstrated his fitness. Yet, more distinctive and perhaps more precious as his contribution to contemporary college life was his choice of recreation. Each year saw him turning to the Northwest for intrepid outdoor life amid the majesty of the great hills, until he had conquered more than half a hundred summits, several of them first ascents. While colleges were urging the importance of physical culture and were seeking it by intensive gymnastics and interteam contests, he steadily demonstrated in his own person the perfect coordination of eye and limb, of sagacity and endurance, by his quiet but notable prowess in the grandest of all American arenas. Such a predilection might look old-fashioned, but it rang true to that manly inheritance whence all modern college athletics draw their slender justification for their more slender accomplishment. It was, moreover, an inheritance from the noble fellowship of Mummery, Whymper, Conway, and Tyndall, and gave to our contemporary college life a precious connection with those older and most honored traditions of true sportsmanship. Such a fellowship was in itself a dedication and, as with Mummery, it was bravely fulfilled even to death. It cannot be deemed a wholly unfortunate destiny which has invested his passing with so majestic an exemplification of the fortitude which he taught in life.

Waterbury, Connecticut, August 21 Edward H. Davis

The Vienna Vote on Non-Resistance

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The action of the recent Vienna Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom as regards non-resistance raises some important points of principle which would be likely to escape the reader of Miss Alice Riggs Hunt's spirited article.

The League stands squarely for personal as well as for collective opposition to all wars, but when a motion was presented resolving "that we hereby adopt the principle and practice of non-resistance under all circumstances" an English delegate made the point of order, sustained by the president, Jane Addams, that the vote of the delegates could not bind their organizations. Subject to this understanding a majority voted for the resolution. As the resolution had never been considered by the Sections this seems elementary fair play. Had the resolution been voted otherwise it would have meant—if it was really to be followed out and not treated as a mere verbal exorcism—that a few scores of delegates expelled without hearing all members of the League not willing to be bound by the formula.

But apart from this parliamentary difficulty certain substantial objections to the passing of such a resolution appeared to some of us conclusive. Individuals may of course pledge themselves never under any circumstances to resist force used against themselves or others, but many who earnestly trust that they might, in every hour of testing, be able to overcome evil with good would feel it presumptuous to promise this beforehand. The Society of Friends, practiced non-resistants as they are, are true to their central doctrine that each soul must act by the light that it perceives and demand no assurances from new members as to their future action. Surely the right principle.

For us who lead sheltered lives there is little chance (apart from a mid-night burglary) of the acceptance of non-resistance involving us in serious sacrifice, but to women in the Ukraine, in Galicia, on the borders across which the fiercest national passions are at play it may mean more than a question of life and death. Members of our League have in individual cases accomplished something very like miracles by action in the spirit of sheer intrepid non-resistance. This spirit can be attained by intellectual conviction and moral enthusiasm and these can often be communicated by the contagion of personality from one to another. But to attempt to exclude from a comradeship of women who are working to do what they can toward delivering the world from war all who have not attained so far, and not only these but also all who while believing in non-resistance, yet, like the Friends, prefer not to make promises, seems to many of us not to serve the cause of peace or of non-resistance. Those to whom words mean little will agree; it is precisely the scrupulous and overconscientious who are shut out.

It is by the living spirit of an organization drawing to itself those of like purpose that a truly effective and united membership is secured, not by tests and principles adopted by vote.

Geneva, Switzerland, September 15 Emily G. Balch

Handel's Classicism

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In an article on Caruso in the issue of August 17, someone has committed a slight but no less grievous error regarding the composer Handel. It is stated that he "had to abandon his classical form and to write operas so ludicrously florid and overtinseled that if any of them were produced today they would be laughed off the stage." Now it is very true that Handel produced many operas and that none of them are heard of today, but it is an injustice to him to say that he abandoned his classical form to write them, for he had never really acquired any classicism until he left off writing the popular Italian opera of the day. He produced "Rinaldo" in 1711 at London and wrote operas until 1741. "Esther," 1733, was his first attempt at an oratorio, which form alone gave rise to his classicism and his greatness, and this was followed in the same year by "Deborah" and "Athalia." In 1737 his activities as an impresario led him into bankruptcy because of the keen competition of a rival company which boasted the great Farinelli (the Caruso of the time) as one of its members. From then on came no more operas, but the more notable oratorios "Saul" and "Israel in Egypt" were produced in 1738 and the crowning work of all, "The Messiah," in 1742. May no one think that the great contemporary of Bach could be meretricious. He was bred to Italian opera by a long residence in Italy, but when the time came for his true genius to appear he overcame all influence and rose to the mighty prominence from which we now contemplate him.

San Francisco, September 1 Ralph W. Hyde

[The words "had to abandon his classical form" were not intended to be understood in a chronological sense, but simply as meaning that in writing operas to suit the taste of his day Handel had to give up all idea of writing music in the classical style. He had written such music, for organ and other instruments, before he became a fashionable opera composer, and it is not correct to say that the oratorio "alone gave rise to his classicism and his greatness." There is greatness even in those of his operatic arias which were rescued by Robert Franz. —Editor The Nation.]

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Books

Kaleidoscope

Erik Dorn. By Ben Hecht. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A SAGACIOUS and distinguished critic with whom we are generally glad to find ourselves agreeing has written of Mr. Hecht's "Erik Dorn" as follows: "Disorderly, iconoclastic, and novel in form. . . . It has upon me the effect of a gaudy and fantastic panorama, in which the movement is almost acrobatic and the color is that of a kaleidoscope." These words the publishers feature on the jacket of the book. They were intended as praise and are used as praise. Was ever praise more deadly? Or are we facing a complete reversal of the meaning commonly assigned to words? It is true that "Erik Dorn" is disorderly and in so far it is not novel in form but formless. For form is, obviously, order of some sort. Nor is it easy to see what particular idol in the present flexibility of the novel form the appearance or fact of disorder may be said to break. The book has, upon us too, "the effect of a gaudy and fantastic panorama, in which the movement is almost acrobatic," and we cannot possibly imagine a more unfortunate effect. Gaudiness and fantasticalness aping the speed and precision of acrobatics without ever touching the reality—yes, that is a just if somewhat cruel description of Mr. Hecht's manner.

The truth is, of course, that the distinguished critic in question did not in this instance weigh his words carefully. He did not, in truth, weigh them at all. And the reason is that he fell into the easiest and most pardonable of errors. He yielded to the well-known Idols of the Cave. He is in fundamental agreement with Mr. Hecht's intellectual position. He knows that Mr. Hecht is out after the same heads that he would like to see come off. And so he persuaded himself in terms that we have shown to be vague and contradictory that Mr. Hecht's book is a good book. Now we are also, by and large, in sympathy with Mr. Hecht. The objects of his aversion are commonly our own. But now and then, unlike our distinguished critic—if we do him wrong he has our cordial apology in advance—we retire from these present frays with their dust and heat into the cool chambers of the past. And there we find in the Novum Organum of Bacon, himself the arch-iconoclast and radical of all, that well-known warning concerning Idols, and concerning the Idols of the Cave we find these great and memorable words: "Truth is to be sought for not in the felicity of any age, which is an unstable thing, but in the light of nature and experience which are eternal. . . . Faction must be abjured, and care must be taken that the intellect be not hurried by it into assent." Mr. Hecht is of our faction, too. But we cannot let that fact hurry our intellect into assent.

Mr. Hecht affects a sort of telegraphic Meredithianism which in the end renders neither nature nor human experience but only its own vain torment. "Faces like a flight of paper scraps." . . . "The wife of the red face fidgeted." . . . "His kisses, his 'I love you,' were the clawing of fingers high up on the wall." . . . "The slant of red mouths opened laughters." In these "magnificent bombinations," as Mr. Hecht would say, there is a perfectly genuine striving after intensity of expressiveness. But intensity cannot exist without justness. It becomes intensity with nothing left to be intense about. It becomes expression in the void. We remind Mr. Hecht of Swift: "There is no inventing terms of art beyond our ideas." Where the ideas cease to be perfectly real in themselves, however subjective or subtle, words no longer function but become mere "bombinations" of nervous sound. And so it may also be worth while reminding Mr. Hecht of a remark of Hazlitt's, whom he must know well since he has borrowed his name for one of the characters in "Erik Dorn." The remark is this: "It is not pomp or pretension, but the adaptation of the expression to the idea that clenches a writer's meaning."

It is clear that we are laying ourselves open to the charge of mere academic obscurantism. So we may as well take the final leap. In the chapters dealing with Erik Dorn's witnessing of the German revolution there are used twelve German phrases which contain exactly fifteen gross, elementary mistakes. Now that is just what we should expect from this dadaistic post-super-expressionistic manner. We are all for the smashers of idols—Bacon, Voltaire, Shelley, Nietzsche. But what marvelous writers they were! They created new forms, but forms. They had, too, that scholarly conscience, that fine respect for fact and truth that is inseparable from the truly creative mind. Their singularity was too profound to need a curious incoherence of expression, and what they had to say was too important ever to be uttered otherwise than exactly and beautifully.

We are not trying to make a mountain out of a molehill, but to guard the development of our literature from wasteful error. Mr. Hecht has undoubted talent. His portrait of George Hazlitt—if one succeeds in piecing it together—is trenchant and correct. His analysis of the jury in the Pauline Pollard trial is masterly in intention and perspicacity and cries out for an expression that can carry farther and affect one more powerfully. But all the rest is vague and aimless and falsely iridescent. Small, half-instructed groups will rally about Mr. Hecht's supposed innovations. We should like to see larger audiences come in contact with the fruits of his talent and reflection. But that cannot be hoped for until he ceases to "bombinate" and begins to write. L. L.

Britain's Constitution

A Constitutional History of England. By George Burton Adams. Henry Holt and Company.

OF late years an increasing amount of attention has been paid by American scholars to English constitutional development, and a livelier interest is being displayed in it as we realize more clearly that the existing constitutions of America and England have an equal claim to direct descent from English medieval institutions. As Professor Adams says elsewhere: "The creation and establishment of our judicial institutions and common law, of the supremacy of law over the government, of our representative system, of the popular control of taxation, of the responsibility of ministers of government to the legislature, and finally of the principle, fundamental to all else, of the sovereignty of the people, were the work of our English ancestors."

Among the scholars whose work has effected a profound change in our conceptions of English constitutional history during the Middle Ages, Professor Adams holds a prominent place. His most important contribution to our knowledge is contained in his "Origin of the English Constitution" published in 1912. The research of the past two or three decades had destroyed what is known as the Teutonic Theory, that is, the theory which ascribes a democratic policy to the primitive Teutons and traces back to it many of the democratic institutions of England. Professor Adams in his "Origin" attempted to provide an alternative theory. He then tried to show that the germ of the limited monarchy, which is England's great contribution to the science of government, is to be found in the feudal contract which the Normans introduced at the Conquest; that the idea that there was a law above the king which the king must be made to observe grew out of the conception of the feudal contract which the king could not break with impunity. This theory which there is only space here to state shortly and baldly has not yet been unreservedly accepted by historians; there remain obstacles to be removed and gaps to be filled. But as it stands it has the great merit of presenting a coherent and comprehensible picture of the beginnings of the limited monarchy.

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In 1918 Professor Adams published his very brief "Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History" in which he summarized what may be called his feudal or Norman theory of the constitution, and connects it with the subsequent history of English constitutional development. His new book is an enlargement of the "Outline Sketch" and there is no doubt that it will be of the greatest value to a large class of readers. His object as he states it in his preface is "to make as clear as possible the continuous growth of the constitution from generation to generation" and with this end before him he omits much detail which might confuse the larger view. It is pleasing to find how much of the technical minutiae which have been a terror to students of early constitutional history can be omitted without seriously detracting from the value of a book which is considerably more than a summary of conclusions.

Of course, in dealing with the earlier period which is the cockpit of bellicose historians the author, however carefully he treads, is bound at times to expose himself to attack. But now and then he seems to plunge a little unnecessarily into topics that are notoriously controversial, as, for instance, when he affirms his belief in the existence of a town court (as distinguished from a burh court) in Anglo-Saxon England. Again the reader may complain that parts of the work are somewhat carelessly written. For example, the author speaks of the burgesses "authorizing" the statute "de mercatoribus"; we cannot imagine that he believes that the burgesses then exercised any authority in legislation. It is unfortunate too that on p. 189 some most important words are omitted from the quotation of Clause 6 of the Confirmatio Chartarum, with the result that the uninstructed may find it difficult at once to understand the subsequent comments.

These, however, are faults that are trifling when considered in relation to the great merits of the book, and it is possible to remedy them in future editions. The conscientious reviewer is glad when he has drawn attention to them and can proceed to the more pleasant part of his task.

The supreme value of the book is that it gives a coherent account in language that will be readily understood of the slow but continuous evolution of the idea and the machinery of the limited monarchy, linking each step with the steps before and after. The author in his earlier chapters adheres closely to the argument of his previous work and contends that the conception that the king must be under the law was developed out of the feudal contract. He shows how the guardianship of that idea, at first in the hands of an unorganized baronial opposition, passed to the growing institution of Parliament; and he deals briefly with Parliament's rise to power in the fourteenth century, the experiment in constitutional government in the fifteenth, and the Tudor monarchy operating through Parliament in the sixteenth century. He tells in greater detail of the struggle of the early Stuarts against the steadily developing principle of the sovereignty of Parliament, the issue of which decided that Parliament rather than the Crown was to be the sovereign power in the state. And here we come to the parting of the ways for the constitutions of England and America. In the storm and stress of this revolution was born the new principle of the sovereignty of the people, a principle which was carried by the Puritan colonists to America and which has since had a separate history on either side of the Atlantic. In seventeenth-century England it was premature, and for over one hundred years the main interest of English constitutional history is the growth of the cabinet system for securing the sovereignty of Parliament. It is only with the French Revolution and the industrial changes beginning in the eighteenth century that the principle of the sovereignty of the people again became a vital force in England, and Professor Adams carefully works out its realization up to the present day. Of course, in the more congenial soil of the Puritan and Quaker colonies of America the principle had at once taken root, but it is no part of Professor Adams's plan in this book to work out its development here. He is concerned to show us that the origin of the principle must be sought in England, and by some illuminating sidelights he emphasizes the comparisons and contrasts between the history of the machinery by which it is realized in each country. It is interesting to notice that "recent tendencies have brought the British government in its practical operation, not in form, nearer to the American system."

For this book, then, everyone must be grateful who takes even a general or superficial interest in the English or American constitutional ideas and machinery. Their interest is likely to be stimulated still further by a host of suggestive hints which may be followed up with the help of the excellent bibliography appended to each chapter. It is no small achievement to have told such a difficult and complicated story so shortly, so clearly, and so simply.

C. A. ELLIOTT

Burckhardt Manqué

Tudor Ideals. By Lewis Einstein. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

THE publisher's temerity in comparing the present volume with Burckhardt's "Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy"—one of the most penetrating and acute histories ever written—invites the reviewer to apply a high standard of judgment. Formally, the author's obligations to Burckhardt are patent; his treatment is topical rather than chronological; his observations indicate thought; and his reading of the sources, as far as these are in English and French, is wide and fresh. Here and there the reader is delighted to find a wise reflection, as that on the significance of Henry VIII's appeal to public opinion in the matter of his divorce, or on the "discovery of the lower classes" by the Reformation, or on intolerance, with the fine phrase, "there exists a kind of Gresham's law in popular hatred." Excellent is the chapter on the Feeling of Compassion, and the thesis that "modern man was born in England in the sixteenth century," developed in another chapter. English maritime enterprise is correctly appreciated, though its effect on the nation is not happily reflected in the words, "the sea was soon to find its intellectual defense." The remarks on the religious forces of the time, though few, are judicious and fair. One of the most interesting sentences is an answer to Macaulay's famous jibe about the Puritans and bear-baiting, for Mr. Einstein is able to quote a contemporary authority who argued against the sport on the ground that it gave pain to the bear, and not on the ground that it gave pleasure to the spectators.

Such merits as have just been pointed out are counterbalanced by serious defects. The arrangement of the book is illogical. The four parts into which it is divided are entitled The Crown, The Individual, Ideals of Life and Thought, and The Enrichment of Life—though these subjects are not coordinate. The large amount of space given to political theory is divided among all four parts, the monarchy being treated in part one, the theory of aristocracy in part two, democratic tendencies in part three, and nationalism in part four. A large number of references fill the notes, but they are given in such form as to make it very difficult to find them; thus: "Hentzner, p. 49," and "Brynklow, p. 10," without once mentioning the title or edition of the book cited.

Over against some apt and accurate observations must be set a number of statements showing confused thought, or erroneous information. With all that he has to say about the power of the Crown the author fails to grasp the nature of the forces which, just at this time, made it triumph over the other estates. That the rise of the middle class and of the power of money formed the chief supports of the throne in the sixteenth and of the Parliament in the seventeenth century has entirely escaped the writer's notice. In the advent of the Reformation only the nationalist tendencies are evaluated, and there were many other contributing factors.

Some of the author's statements of fact will not bear in-

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vestigation. His treatment of Marlowe's skepticism would have been different had he known the contemporary letters on the subject recently published in the London *Times*. He praises Henry VIII for "unconsciously expressing the modern idea of individual choice" in marrying Anne Boleyn instead of a foreign princess. But did not the king long try to make a foreign match and fail? A piece of evidence has lately come to my attention showing that Henry had already made Anne his mistress in 1521; as he did not marry her until twelve years later he must have been extremely dilatory in exercising his free volition. Now and then the author misunderstands his source, as in his quotation from Erasmus's testimony to Henry VIII's scholarship, or in his words about Shakespeare's ideal state—meaning the communism ridiculed in "The Tempest." There are a number of small errors, as "Colet" for "Colt" (Sir Thomas More's father-in-law), p. 246; Brion for Biron, p. 239; "The Mirror of Virtue" for "The Mirror of the Sinful Soul," p. 200; "Eupheuism," p. 129; "Ante Polemus" for "Antipolemus," p. 181; "The Blast of the Tempest" as the title of Knox's diatribe; "Aldine" for "Aldo," p. 318; "Leonates" for "Leontes," p. 123.

The author's style is so extraordinarily incorrect as to make his work laborious reading. One cannot wander far in his pages without stubbing one's toe on a misplaced comma, or slipping on some doubtful word, or tripping over a tangled construction. We read of "the forces who" and "the states who" did this and that, of a lady who "accepted to be godmother"; we find, "like in Eastern lands, to fall was to be disgraced"; "ignore" in the French sense of "not to know," and "demean" in the sense of "humble" or "abase," a meaning of the word characterized by the Oxford English Dictionary as "used chiefly by the uneducated or in imitations of them." And there are many ungrammatical sentences too long for quotation.

PRESERVED SMITH

The Scottish Language

Manual of Modern Scots. By William Grant and James Main Dixon. Cambridge University Press.

THE perennial charm of Burns and the more occasional interest roused by the dialogue in Scottish fiction from Scott to Stevenson and Barrie have produced a demand among non-Scottish readers for a guide to the use of the modern Scots dialects. Frequently all that such readers really want and would use is a summary statement to enable them to approximate the pronunciation and overcome difficulties with the vocabulary. There is no such short and easy route as they seek. In spite of the apparent closeness of much Scots dialect to English, the differences are in reality very numerous and often very subtle, and the musical quality of Scottish poetry is not to be heard by aliens unless through close attention to native speakers or by such a phonetic study as few care to undertake. But there exists a small body of serious students of literature who have been willing to pay the price if anyone would show them the way, and in this "Manual" by Mr. Grant and Mr. Main Dixon the way is for the first time traced out in adequate and scholarly fashion. It was high time that it should be done, for in another generation or so much that has been here gathered and arranged for permanent use would have been lost beyond recovery.

The book begins with a detailed description of the sounds of Modern Scots interpreted by the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. The study of phonetics and the use of this alphabet are now so widespread that the number of persons capable of following this description is vastly greater than it was twenty-five years ago. It will always need, however, careful study and a good ear, and even with these the mastery of Scots pronunciation, with its local varieties, will remain considerably harder than the mastery, say, of the sounds of Chaucer. But the data are at last available, clearly and accurately set down once for all. The second part deals with grammar, but gives much more than accidence. It is really a comparative study of Scots and English usage, and incidentally supplies a large mass of information on the more colloquial part of the Scots vocabulary. The rest of the book consists of a well-chosen series of extracts with phonetic transcriptions. Careful practice with these selections will leave the student with a good grasp of Scottish sounds and an idea of the wealth of the literature to which the volume gives access.

The knowledge of Scots shown by the authors is both wide and intimate; and their work has the advantage of being based on a sound knowledge of comparative phonetics and broad linquistic scholarship. Those who know Mr. Grant's admirable "Pronunciation of English in Scotland" and are aware of the zeal with which Mr. Dixon has for years taught Scottish literature in California will know what to expect. The authors have done something that needed doing and have done it well, in spite of very great difficulties inherent in the task. The Scottish Carnegie Trustees have made the publication possible through a financial guaranty. Their example is worth the notice of the directors of our Carnegie Institution, which has been somewhat reluctant to encourage philological scholarship.

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Notable New Books

Insects and Human Welfare. By Charles Thomas Brues. Harvard.

A succinct and useful account "of the more important relations of insects to the health of man, to agriculture, and to forestry."

Essays on Books—More Essays on Books. By A. Clutton-Brock. Dutton.

Lucid and charming essays on a variety of literary topics reprinted from the London *Times* Literary Supplement by one of the most valuable of the regular contributors to that paper.

Life and Letters of Toru Dutt. By Harihar Das. Oxford.

A substantial, attractive biography of a Hindu girl who, dying at twenty-one, had so mastered English that she genuinely deserves a little niche in the history of English poetry.

The Relation of Ultramodern to Archaic Music. By Katherine Ruth Heyman. Small, Maynard.

Chaotic though interesting notes on radical music, and incidentally on radical poetry.

The Wings of Oppression. By Leslie Pinckney Hill. Stratford.

Earnest and creditable poems of the Negro race.

Outwitting Our Nerves. By Josephine A. Jackson and Helen M. Salisbury. Century.

A "primer of psychotherapy" which should be of use to any intelligent layman.

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. The Italian Text with a Translation in English Blank Verse and a Commentary. By Courtney Langdon. Vol. III: *Paradiso.* Harvard.

The last volume of Professor Langdon's translation, to be followed shortly by a fourth volume of commentary.

The Hound of Heaven. An Interpretation. By Francis P. LeBuffe, S. J. Macmillan.

An elaborate ascetical and Scriptural commentary on Francis Thompson's most famous poem.

The Life of Artemas Ward. By Charles Martyn. New York: Artemas Ward.

A minute examination of the career of the first commander-in-chief of the American Revolution.

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Drama

Oasis

THE last week had been hard to bear. It brought "The Man in the Making" (Hudson Theater), which is a burly play for hard-headed business men; it brought "Wait Till We're Married" (The Playhouse), which deals in lightning-like stage conversions and ends on a smile; it brought Mr. Edward Childs Carpenter's tepid "Pot Luck" (Comedy Theater), with glimpses of talent carefully curbed for the box-office. One felt, therefore, quite in one's accustomed element when a stout gentleman whose diamond stickpin was as noisy as his voice asked in the vestibule of the Ambassador Theater: "Music by Schubert, eh? Which is it, Jake or Lee? Never knew those fellows went in for composing." Then one went in and the curtain rose and there—despite a hundred things to rasp the fastidious and those who wisely or unwisely hold themselves aloof from the arts that please the people—there was old Vienna, the city of Gluck, of Mozart, of Beethoven, a city that seemed not only to lend a home to genius but to give that genius a touch of divine felicity and serenity; there, somewhat in his manner as he lived, was Franz Schubert.

The operetta now named "Blossom Time" and presented in a new Broadway theater is, of course, the famous "Drei Mädelhaus," which, after a resounding success in Europe, reached the Irving Place Theater in the winter of 1918. Its performance by the German stock company there was shabby to the eye and not important musically. But a breath of poetry and pathos, of earnestness and desiderium passed through it which was sought in vain amid the magnificent mountings and admirable voices at the Ambassador.

Professional devotees of music—and devotees of music are apt to be a little professional—will not be pleased with the whole scheme of "Blossom Time." They may merely disdain the act of building a play around the life of Franz Schubert. But to trick out that play with Schubert's songs, to ring all possible changes on the everlasting Ständchen, to use the great melody from the Unfinished Symphony quite as the leit-motif and enveloping tune is used in the cheapest music shows! Yes, it is barbarous. And the American production added new atrocities to the old. The tempo of the loveliest of the Wiener Walzer was shamelessly accelerated—"jazzed up" is the better expression—and, at the end of the second act, the melody from the D-minor was suddenly dovetailed into that of "Ich schnitt es gern in jede Rinde ein," which is probably the feeblest, though one of the most popular, of the four hundred songs. It need only be added that the Ave Maria was used as a "number" called Lonely Hearts, and that in the midst of a musical pattern hopelessly at variance with it we seemed to detect several measures of the exquisite Forelle. There is nothing to set off against these things except the fact that the Military March was played with the nicest regard for Schubert's intention. To which praise our more terrible musical friends will at once reply: Yes, but his intention in this instance was quite unmusical and popular and unfortunately happens not to interest us at all.

Very well. But when, on leaving the theater, we heard the usher call out: "All the hits of the show at forty cents a piece!" and saw the honest bourgeois with still glowing faces crowd forward to buy "the hits of the show," we felt certain that the American producers of the "Drei Mädelhaus" had done a good deed—vital, beautiful, beneficent. It is easy and lends you an air of pleasing originality and saves you from the reproach of priggishness if, having just come from Mengelberg, you say: "Ah, yes, I find rag-time most interesting. It's an original contribution to music. Irving Berlin is a very clever chap." It is easy and rather disgusting. Out in the land beside a hundred thousand pianos and phonographs the young gather in the evening. And among these young people are also students and especially the students of the great State universities. And the pianos tinkle and the phonographs croak "When the midnight shoo-shoo leaves for Alabam'" or "Honey Boy, I hate to see you leavin'" and the hits from the latest Broadway successes by Mr. Otto Harbach or Mr. Silvio Hein and, at most and best, some sugary, rhetorical, fundamentally soulless bit from an Italian opera. But suppose "Blossom Time" achieves the sweeping success which it promises to achieve and in cottages and fraternity houses from coast to coast the pianos and phonographs play the Wiener Walzer! Listen to it with your inner ear in its original tempo as the words glide past the eye:

> Und unter blühendem Flieder
> Mit duftendem Mieder,
> Die Eine, die Feine, die meine muss sein!

What soft gaiety through which breaks the eternal sadness of the soul, what infinite grace, how spiritual a rhythm, what yearning, what delight! Yes, we insist that now, if not before, the Messrs. Shubert have shown themselves public benefactors and have wiped out a multitude of their quite unquestionable sins.

Of the New York production in its obvious and external aspects many true and agreeable things can be said. The selection of a musical comedy star was thus described to us by a man experienced in music shows: "She's gotta be a good looker and she's gotta be able to shake a leg. If she can sing, it's all to the mustard, of course." And these words are important not because they are amusing but because they correspond with the facts. In "Blossom Time" the voices of the principals are all, for this particular purpose, of very genuine excellence. Miss Olga Cook, who sings the part of Mitzi, has a soprano which, though a little cool and stiff, is at least fresh, strong, and skilfully produced; and Mr. Howard Marsh sings the tenor part of Schober with a union of grace and dignity and an absence of all vocal trickery which is unique in our experience of musical comedy tenors. Mr. Bertram Peacock, who sings the chief part of Franz Schubert, lets his admirable baritone drag a little at times and at others lets it become a little too luscious. But he acts sensitively and intelligently and does not affront the memory of the great and lovely genius whom he impersonates.

Even at the risk of seeming incorrigibly barbarous we express the final hope that "Blossom Time" will be followed by a Beethoven operetta called "Adelaide" and by one woven of the songs of Robert Schumann. The critics of music may sneer. But if phonograph records of Mondnacht and Frühlingsnacht and Der Kranke and Der Wanderer were played in every Main Street "home" and every lonely farmhouse, what should we care for the words of critics? Think of the delight that would be spread and the souls that would be saved.

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International Relations Section

Russian Relief

The Work of the Friends in Russia

FOR almost a year before the formation of the organizations represented in the following agreements, relief work in Russia had been carried on by the American Friends Service Committee; and for some months before that a representative of the English Friends had been distributing supplies. The more extensive work now in progress under the direction of the Friends in the famine areas of Russia is merely an enlargement of their former activities and no formal agreement has been entered into with the Russian authorities, who from the first have cooperated with the Quaker relief workers. Several spontaneous committees throughout the country, including the New York Committee for Russian Relief, are distributing supplies through the American Friends Service Committee.

The Nansen Negotiations

THE agreement regarding relief work in Russia signed by Dr. Nansen, High Commissioner appointed by the Red Cross Conference at Geneva, and M. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, appeared in the London *Times* for September 7.

1. A committee shall be formed in Moscow which shall be called the International Russian Relief Executive, consisting of one representative of Dr. Nansen acting on behalf of the International Relief Conference, Geneva, and one representative of the Russian Government.

2. The International Russian Relief Executive shall alone decide with regard to the distribution of supplies sent to Russia by the International Relief Conference, Geneva, or any other organization acting in conjunction with it.

3. The supplies sent so to Russia shall remain the absolute property of the International Relief Conference, Geneva, until their final distribution.

4. All supplies sent to the International Russian Relief Executive for distribution will be delivered free at the Russian frontier.

5. In case of supplies sent by sea to Russian ports, the Russian Government undertakes to secure the discharge in accordance with ordinary commercial conditions. In case of failure in this respect, the Russian Government will bear the liability for the consequent expense.

6. The Russian Government undertakes to transport free of cost all supplies from the Russian frontier to the distributing centers. The International Russian Relief Executive shall have the right to supervise the transport of these supplies.

7. The International Russian Relief Executive shall decide the general lines on which the detailed relief action shall be carried out, and for this the Russo-American Agreement of August 20, 1921, shall serve as basis.

8. In the interests of systematic distribution and of the best possible use of transport facilities, the Russian Government undertakes to make use as far as possible of the International Russian Relief Executive for distribution of all free gifts, sent from outside Russia to relieve the famine, and to inform the International Russian Relief Executive of all such free gifts, of whatever origin, sent from outside Russia for that purpose. (This does not affect the arrangements already made between the Russian Government and the American Relief Administration.)

Dr. Nansen also concluded an agreement with the Soviet Government on the subject of credits, the more important sections of which were printed in the *Times*.

The Russian Government requests Dr. Nansen to ask the governments of Europe in its name for a credit of £10,000,000 for Russia, a sum insufficient to settle the present problem but which would enable immediate steps to be taken to ameliorate the present distress.

The Russian Government declares itself ready to assume the obligations demanded of it. The foreign governments are to provide the credits. The distribution of help will be carried out through the International Executive Committee for Russian Help at Moscow, assisted by a limited number of representatives of the chief lending governments.

In order effectively to supervise the distribution of gifts the Russian Government pledges itself to authorize Dr. Nansen to send to Russia the staff he considers necessary for this work of assistance. The Russian Government guarantees this staff liberty and protection during its stay in Russia. The Russian Government agrees to give Dr. Nansen the facilities granted to the American Relief Administration.

Dr. Nansen, for his part, promises that his staff will confine itself in Russia strictly to the administration of help and will in no way deal with politics or commerce.

The Russian-American Relief Agreement

THE arrangements concluded by the Russian Government and the Director for Europe of the American Relief Administration are printed herewith. It is interesting to note that whereas the press represented the agreement as having been concluded with M. Litvinov as "representative of the Russian Relief Committee," he actually signed himself in his official capacity as "Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs."

WHEREAS, a famine condition exists in parts of Russia, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Maxim Gorki, with the knowledge of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, has appealed through Mr. Hoover to the American people for assistance to the starving and sick people, more particularly the children, of the famine stricken parts of Russia, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Hoover and the American people have read with great sympathy this appeal on the part of the Russian people in their distress and are desirous, solely for humanitarian reasons, of coming to their assistance, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Hoover, in his reply to Mr. Gorki, has suggested that supplementary relief might be brought by the American Relief Administration to up to a million children in Russia,

Therefore, it is agreed between the American Relief Administration, an unofficial volunteer American charitable organization under the chairmanship of Mr. Herbert Hoover, hereinafter called the A. R. A., and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, hereinafter called the Soviet authorities,

That the A. R. A. will extend such assistance to the Russian people as is within its power, subject to the acceptance and fulfilment of the following conditions on the part of the Soviet authorities who hereby declare that there is need of this assistance on the part of the A. R. A.

The Soviet authorities agree:

1. That the A. R. A. may bring into Russia such personnel as the A. R. A. finds necessary in the carrying out of its work and the Soviet authorities guarantee them full liberty and protection while in Russia. Non-Americans and Americans who have been detained in Soviet Russia since 1917 will be admitted on approval by the Soviet authorities.

2. That they will, on demand of the A. R. A., immediately

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extend all facilities for the entry into and exit from Russia of the personnel mentioned in (1) and while such personnel are in Russia the Soviet authorities shall accord them full liberty to come and go and move about Russia on official business and shall provide them with all necessary papers such as safe-conducts, laissez passer, etc., to facilitate their travel.

3. That in securing Russian and other local personnel the A. R. A. shall have complete freedom as to selection and the Soviet authorities will, on request, assist the A. R. A. in securing same.

4. That on delivery by the A. R. A. of its relief supplies at the Russian ports of Petrograd, Murmansk, Archangel, Novorossiisk or other Russian ports as mutually agreed upon, or the nearest practicable available ports in adjacent countries, decision to lie with the A. R. A., the Soviet authorities will bear all further costs such as discharge, handling, loading, and transportation to interior base points in the areas where the A. R. A. may operate. Should demurrage or storage occur at above ports mutually agreed upon as satisfactory such demurrage and storage is for the account of the Soviet authorities. For purposes of this agreement the ports of Riga, Reval, Libau, Hango, and Helsingfors are also considered satisfactory ports. Notice of at least five days will be given to Soviet representatives at respective ports in case the Soviet authorities are expected to take C. I. F. (cost of insurance forward) delivery.

5. That they will at their own expense supply the necessary storage at interior base points mentioned in paragraph (4) and handling and transportation from same to all such other interior points as the A. R. A. may designate.

6. That in all above storage and movement of relief supplies they will give the A. R. A. the same priority over all other traffic as the Soviet authorities give their own relief supplies, and on demand of the A. R. A. will furnish adequate guards and convoys.

7. That they will give free import and reexport and guarantee freedom from requisition to all A. R. A. supplies of whatever nature. The A. R. A. will repay the Soviet authorities for expenses incurred by them on reexported supplies.

8. That the relief supplies are intended only for children and the sick, as designated by the A. R. A. in accordance with paragraph (24), and remain the property of the A. R. A. until actually consumed by these children and the sick, and are to be distributed in the name of the A. R. A.

9. That no individual receiving A. R. A. rations shall be deprived of such local supplies as are given to the rest of the population.

10. That they will guarantee and take every step to insure that relief supplies belonging to the A. R. A. will not go to the general adult population nor to the army, navy, or government employees but only to such persons as designated in paragraphs (8) and (24).

11. The Soviet authorities undertake to reimburse the A. R. A. in dollars at C. I. F. cost or replace in kind any misused relief supplies.

12. That the A. R. A. shall be allowed to set up the necessary organizations for carrying out its relief work free from governmental or other interference. The central and local Soviet authorities have the right of representation thereon.

13. That the Soviet authorities will provide:

a. The necessary premises for kitchens, dispensaries and, in as far as possible, hospitals.

b. The necessary fuel and, when available, cooking, distributing, and feeding equipment for the same.

c. The total cost of local relief administration, food preparation, distribution, etc., themselves or in conjunction with local authorities. Mode of payment to be arranged at later date.

d. On demand of the A. R. A. such local medical personnel and assistance, satisfactory to the A. R. A., as are needed to efficiently administer its relief.

e. Without cost railway, motor, water or other transportation for movement of relief supplies and of such personnel as may be necessary to efficiently control relief operations. The Soviet authorities will for the duration of the A. R. A. operations assign to the A. R. A. for the sole use of its personnel, and transport free of cost, such railway carriages as the A. R. A. may reasonably request.

14. In localities where the A. R. A. may be operating and where epidemics are raging, the A. R. A. shall be empowered by the Soviet authorities to take such steps as may be necessary toward the improvement of sanitary conditions, protection of water supply, etc.

15. That they will supply free of charge the necessary offices, garages, store-rooms, etc., for the transaction of the A. R. A. business and when available heat, light, and water for same. Further that they will place at the disposal of the A. R. A. adequate residential quarters for the A. R. A. personnel in all localities where the A. R. A. may be operating. All such above premises to be free from seizure and requisition. Examination of above premises will not be made except with knowledge and in presence of the chief of the A. R. A. operations in Russia or his representative and except in case of flagrant *délit* when examiner will be held responsible in case examination unwarranted.

16. That they will give to the A. R. A. complete freedom and priority without cost in the use of existing radio, telegraph, telephone, cable, post, and couriers in Russia and will provide the A. R. A., when available and subject to the consent of competent authorities, with private telegraph and telephone wires and maintenance free of cost.

17. To accord the A. R. A. and its American representatives and its couriers the customary diplomatic privileges as to passing the frontiers.

18. To supply the A. R. A. free of cost with the necessary gasoline and oil to operate its motor transportation and to transport such motor transportation by rail or otherwise as may be necessary.

19. To furnish at the request of the competent A. R. A. authorities all A. R. A. personnel, together with their impediments and supplies, free transportation in Russia.

20. To permit the A. R. A. to import and reexport free of duty and requisition such commissary, transport, and office supplies as are necessary for its personnel and administration.

21. That they will acquaint the Russian people with the aims and methods of the relief work of the A. R. A. in order to facilitate the rapid development of its efficiency and will assist and facilitate in supplying the American people with reliable and non-political information on the existing conditions and the progress of the relief work as an aid in developing financial support in America.

22. That they will bear all expenses of the relief operation other than

a. Cost of relief supplies at port (see paragraph 4),

b. Direct expenses of American control and supervision of relief work in Russia with exceptions as above. In general they will give the A. R. A. all assistance in their power toward the carrying out of its humanitarian relief operations.

The A. R. A. agrees:

23. Within the limits of its resources and facilities, to supply, as rapidly as suitable organization can be effected, food, clothing, and medical relief to the sick and particularly to the children within the age limits as decided upon by the A. R. A.

24. That its relief distribution will be to the children and sick without regard to race, religion, or social or political status.

25. That its personnel in Russia will confine themselves strictly to the ministration of relief and will engage in no political or commercial activity whatever. In view of paragraph (1) and the freedom of American personnel in Russia from personal search, arrest, and detention, any personnel contravening this will be withdrawn or discharged on the request of the central Soviet authorities. The central Soviet authorities will submit to the chief officer of the A. R. A. the reasons for this request and the evidence in their possession.

26. That it will carry on its operations where it finds its

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relief can be administered most efficiently and to secure best results. Its principal object is to bring relief to the famine-stricken areas of the Volga.

27. That it will import no alcohol in its relief supplies and will permit customs inspection of its imported relief supplies at points to be mutually agreed upon.

The Soviet authorities having previously agreed as the absolute sine qua non of any assistance on the part of the American people to release all Americans detained in Russia and to facilitate the departure from Russia of all Americans so desiring, the A. R. A. reserves to itself the right to suspend temporarily or terminate all of its relief work in Russia in case of failure on the part of the Soviet authorities to fully comply with this primary condition or with any condition set forth in the above agreement. The Soviet authorities equally reserve the right of canceling this agreement in case of non-fulfilment of any of the above clauses on the part of the A. R. A.

Made in Riga, August Twentieth, Nineteen hundred and twenty-one.

On behalf of Council of People's Commissaries of
the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic
(Signed) MAXIM LITVINOV
Assistant People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs

On behalf of the American Relief Administration
(Signed) WALTER LYMAN BROWN
Director for Europe

Trotzky Is Aroused

THE September 10 issue of the Petrograd *Pravda* contains the following bitter denunciation by Leon Trotzky of the appointment of M. Noulens as head of the commission for relief established by the Allied Supreme Council. M. Noulens is at present president of the Committee of French Creditors of Russia. The Russian Government has refused to allow agents and investigators of the commission to enter the country.

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Noulens—a banner.

The appointment of Noulens as the chairman of the Commission for International Relief of Russia is a clever stunt of the French Government. By this action the French Government reveals itself at once and as a whole. Any other name would leave room for doubt, indecision, and suppositions. The name of Noulens at once clarifies the entire situation.

Noulens is known and remembered in Russia. He is also known in the Ukraine. This stupid, narrow, and greedy bourgeois represented the Third Republic at the Czar's court. Of course he retained his credentials under Kerensky. Of course he became at once a fierce enemy of the Soviet Government. Noulens is a completely typical French politician in the sense that he is a petit bourgeois who has become rich; his capital is large, his outlook is small.

The Russian Revolution crashed down on this flat skull like a thunderbolt. Noulens could not understand anything. One thing, however, he did learn well: that together with him many other enriched small bourgeois were going to lose their billions through the Russian Revolution. And so this stupid political shopkeeper decides to overthrow the revolution of the Russian working class. In order to accomplish this he makes connections with all sorts of White Guards—Czarist, liberal, Social Revolutionist, and other breeds. And most important of all, he has plenty of gold at his disposal. He brings all his levers into action. This miserable, cowardly burgher, under the influence of overwhelming greed, dares to engage in most dangerous adventures.

Noulens enters into relations with Petlura and extends credit to him. Noulens organizes, with the aid of his numerous

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agents, the rebellion of the Czecho-Slovak corps on the Volga. Noulens hires Savinkov, who starts a rebellion in Yaroslav. Finally Noulens, together with the British representative, Lockhart, organizes an elaborate conspiracy against Petrograd. Their plan is very simple—by blowing up the railroad tracks and bridges leading into Petrograd, to prevent food. fuel, and water from reaching the city, to bring Petrograd to despair, to capture it by a siege of starvation, and to raise over it the white banner of the counter-revolution. . . .

This brazenly exposed specialist in starvation, the French Government of usurers pushes forward as chairman of the commission for the international relief of starving Russia. No wonder that the somewhat faded recollection of Noulens has flared up in Russia in a bright flame. Noulens is the banner, the program, the symbol of the French bourgeoisie and its government. The leading French newspaper, the *Temps*, which was the kept mistress of the Czarist diplomacy (and, by the way, of many other governments as well), this governmental newspaper, the *Temps*, is imbued with the same spirit as Noulens, i.e., the spirit of an enriched petit bourgeois, and says in its columns that it is necessary not only to give Russia material aid, but simultaneously to free her from the barbarian government of the Bolsheviki, and to give her a "people's" "free" government. This is the voice of Noulens, the voice of the money-lending French bourgeoisie, the greediest, meanest, sweetest-spoken, and most reactionary class in the whole world.

Bourgeois France is playing the part of a cruel executioner to tens of millions of people in Central Europe. She oppresses millions of colonial slaves, black and yellow skinned, and at the same time arms these slaves against the workers of Germany, as well as against her own workers. The name of bourgeois France is hated in all parts of the world. There is nothing more disgusting than a bloodthirsty usurer who talks about democracy. There is nothing meaner than an international executioner who is getting ready to create a "free" government for the Russian people.

Noulens as a philanthropist is the symbol of the French Bourse, in the role of a planter of democracy. Briand on several occasions said that the only condition of an agreement with Soviet Russia would be the acknowledgment of the Czar's debts. No democratic principles whatsoever prevented the Paris usurers from lending money to the Czar, or the *Temps* from receiving the Czar's handouts of the same money. After being fooled on intervention, which was supported by the Bourse, Briand demanded from the Soviet Government recognition of these debts. The payment of interest is the only guaranty asked by the Bourse.

Democracy is the pseudonym for interest. Such is the nature of an enriched petit bourgeois: he reveals his greediness to the limit in politics, and when he slips he begins to talk about democracy. In the part of a spokesman for democracy he is even more disgusting than as an exposed Shylock. The worst, most reactionary, the most brazen Bourse rabble, whose representative Noulens is, believes, or pretends that it believes, that the famine has opened for it the road to the Russian people regardless of the Soviet Government. Let them try it!

The misfortunes of the famine revealed particularly clearly that the Soviet Government is the organized mutual aid of the workers, just as the war revealed more than once that the Soviet Government is their armed self-defense. New misfortunes only stiffen the government of the workers.

As a leader of conspiracies and intervention Noulens was crushed. He now is attempting to come back as a philanthropist. Noulens stands for greed, hypocrisy, treachery, a cowardly blow from around the corner. Noulens stands for the French Bourse and its republic. The path of the Revolution is not made of roses. It has to overcome all obstacles by struggle, it has to clash arms with its enemies, it has to defend itself against living dogs and step over dead ones. The Revolution will step over Noulens as well.

L. TROTZKY

Odessa, September 7

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